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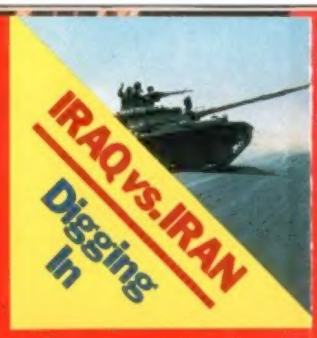

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Digging In

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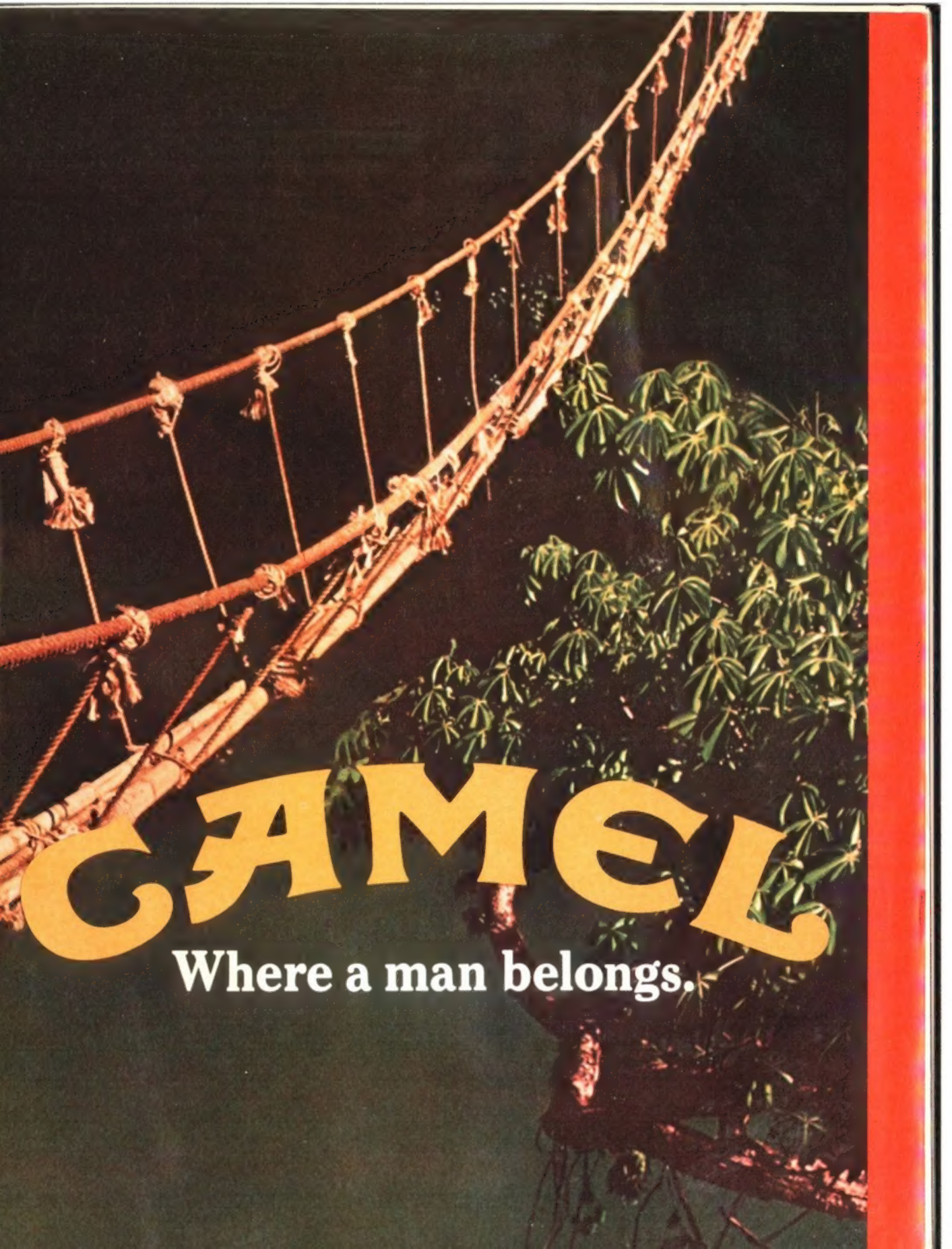
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OCTOBER 13, 1980 Vol. 116 No. 15 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

Certainly the most durable TIME column has been the masthead. Each week it carries the names of the editorial and publishing people most responsible for producing the magazine. With this issue a familiar name is missing. Andrew Heiskell, Time Inc. chairman and chief executive officer, retired Oct. 1.

Heiskell has been listed as chairman for the past 20 years, and his name appeared directly under that of the editor in chief. As chief executive officer, a post he assumed in 1969, he was charged not only with supervising the company's seven magazines but also with running Time Inc.'s extensive interests in book publishing, forest products, TV, film and other enterprises. During his tenure as C.E.O., company revenues rose from $618.5 million in 1969 to $2.5 billion last year. Those figures reflect intrepid moves on Heiskell's part in acquisitions outside publishing as well as the expansion of the magazine division (MONEY in 1972, PEOPLE in 1974, DISCOVER in 1980). He presided over the demise of LIFE in 1972 and proudly participated in its rebirth in 1978. With all that, he found time to devote his formidable talents and energy to civic concerns, most notably as founder and co-chairman of the National Urban Coalition, fellow of the Harvard Corporation and vice chairman of the New York Public Library.

Portrait of Heiskell by Aaron Shikler

Heiskell began his career here as a journalist. In 1937 he was named LIFE's first medicine and science editor, after a stint on the old New York *Herald Tribune*. He also attended the Harvard Business School, but left after a year, deciding he "never wanted to have anything to do with business again." Despite that pledge, he was lured to the publisher's office of LIFE in 1939 as assistant general manager. Heiskell was working in LIFE's Paris office when France fell to the Germans, a particularly poignant experience for him. In his youth he had been educated in French schools, graduated from the University of Paris and had taught science at L'Ecole du Montcel near Paris. He later recalled, "Seeing a nation crumble before your eyes is extraordinary, especially when you were brought up in it and rather loved it."

In many ways he has been a towering figure in the publishing business. No one could claim to know it better, to have contributed more to it, or, at 6 ft. 5½ in., to have dominated it so literally. We view Andrew Heiskell's leaving with mixed emotions: delighted to know he will now be able to devote more of himself to public service and educational pursuits, but sad to see him go.

John a. Meyer

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Letters

Toxic Deluge

To the Editors:

Your cover [Sept. 22] is a pitiable sight: the industrial giant sinking in the mire of poisonous wastes from the chemicals that made it great.

Cora G. Chase
Vaughn, Wash.

Perhaps the grim story of chemical poisoning will finally bring people to the realization that they *are* nature and not a kind of mysterious, superior essence placed *in* nature to make it "better."

Carole Singleton
Cincinnati

In evolutionary terms, the human species is already adapting to profound changes in the earth's chemical environment. Increases in environmentally induced birth defects, infertility and adult mortality prior to reproductive success reflect natural selection at work.

Gary B. Ellis
Austin

We should spend money to clean up our garbage. All of us who want the "easy life" made this mess. It is not just the companies' fault.

Steve Johnson
Monroe, Wash.

The Controversial Zbig

National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski [Sept. 22] is a realist who understands Soviet motives and actions. For this reason, he is considered "controversial" and is disliked by many—in the State Department and media—who minimize and rationalize Soviet expansionism.

Jaroslaw Bilocerkowycz
Seattle

Since when have pugnacity, a loose tongue and exhibitionism become a sign of "dazzling intellectual virtuosity"?

LaVerne Hill Jacobus
Franklin, N.C.

The Christian Way

Your article on Wheaton College [Sept. 22] illustrates what Wheaton and the other members of the Christian College Consortium have so long proclaimed: Christianity does not turn the brain to mush; rather, surrender to Christ results in the freedom to develop fully one's mental, emotional and physical talents.

Christine Newman Aumiller
Milwaukee

That a college can, on the one hand, require students to agree that the Bible is "verbally inspired by God and inerrant in the original writing" and, on the other, hand out degrees in anthropology is doublethink enough. What is even more incredible is that Wheaton can rank on someone's list of best colleges in the U.S.

Kenneth B. Sherman
South Berlin, Mass.

Women and Evolution

Anthropologist Robin Fox's conclusions about the struggle for control of the society [Sept. 22] are basically sound, but he is wrong when he says that the aspiration among modern women to jobs in the marketplace is a foolish deviation from the norm. Evolution itself is a deviation from the norm. If men and women are not allowed to evolve and change, our society will stagnate.

Karen Lingo
Aurora, Colo.

Fox says that "monogamy has never worked." Even though we may all have polygamous drives, the fact that many people do make monogamy work is proof that other things are involved. And in a world of dizzying change, the pair bond may increasingly answer needs more basic than sexual ones.

Bill Nothem
Olean, N.Y.

Demystifying Cinderella

Contrary to your review of ABC's made-for-TV movie *The Women's Room* [Sept. 15], it is more than an "assault on male piggery." It is an expression of the anger and frustration that many middle-class women experience once they have achieved the cherished American dream: girl meets man, gets married and lives happily ever after with 2.5 kids in the suburbs. The fulfillment of this dream does not make them happy. *The Women's Room* is a demystification of the contemporary Cinderella story.

Jennifer Pierce
Berkeley, Calif.

Terry's Courageous Run

You mention that some Canadians "felt a little squeamish" at the sight of Cancer Victim Terry Fox's [Sept. 15] occasionally bloody stump and his face contorted in pain as he attempted his long-distance run across the country. I did not feel squeamish. My face was wet with tears because he ran for my friend, for my uncle, for my father-in-law. His run was against a universal enemy, cancer, that touches us all.

Diana Kim McMillan
Calgary, Alta.

Terry Fox has done more to unite my country than anyone else has or ever will. We Canadians do not get excited easily, but his dream captured our imagination and our love. He is a genuine hero.

Rino Liberatore
Toronto

Latin Tangle

In the article "Two for the Show" [Sept. 22] Columnist Russell Baker is quoted as remarking on the power of television: *Televiso, ergo sum.* This would mean "I watch television, therefore I am," a statement that no doubt would apply to a great many Americans.

Brian D. Stewart
Stanford, Calif.

Russell Baker seems to have taken a wild swing at Descartes's *Cogito, ergo sum* when he came up with *Televiso, ergo sum* —"I am televised, therefore I am." Since "I am televised" is in the passive voice, his Latin verb, derived from *video, videre,* demands the same form. The correct version of his attractive thought would therefore be *Televideor, ergo sum.*

Hans F. Norbert
Ravena, N.Y.

Charge of the Polish Cavalry

The comment by the West German foreign ministry expert that "the Polish cavalry fought German Panzers with drawn sabers during World War II" [Sept. 1] compels me to correct a myth. While it is true that the Poles had a great deal of cavalry, they never charged German tanks.

Richard Watt, in his book *Bitter Glory,* describes an incident that gave rise to this recurring view of the romantic Pole. On Sept. 1, 1939, "two squadrons of the Polish 18th Uhlans attacked a battalion of German infantry near Korjanty in the [Polish] Corridor. At this precise moment German tanks and armored cars appeared ... There were a few other instances of inadvertent contact between German armor and Polish cavalry. But almost always the Polish 'charge' was simply an attempt to break out of a German encirclement."

Jerome Twarog
St. Louis

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

In New Jersey: A Uranium Boom Goes Bust

Back in the '50s, it seemed as if everybody from clerks and college boys to teachers and truckers was off traipsing through the deserts of the Southwest and the forests of the northern Midwest, hoping to hear the staccato clicking of a brand-new Geiger counter. Homeowners all across America daydreamed of discovering uranium in their backyards and living on Easy Street forever.

In New Jersey's Jefferson Township, a small (pop. 16,000) community nestled in green hills about an hour's drive from Manhattan, that old dream is a present reality. The rock beneath is veined with high-grade uranium ore that could be worth millions to those who own the land or win the rights to mine and process it. Which was precisely why, when some 500 residents jammed the high school auditorium on a sweltering night this summer, many of them wore brown and yellow buttons reading URANIUM—LEAVE IT IN THE GROUND. Many more agreed when Schoolteacher Henry Flynn said, "I can't think of anything that would be worse for this community than uranium mining. It would be a disaster."

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY EUGENE MIHAESCO

The hills around Jefferson Township are honeycombed with old iron mines. Geologists have long known that some uranium must be there too, since it is often found in rock formations that yield iron. But the first hint that there might be enough to make mining worthwhile came only four years ago, when a retired contractor named Joseph Riggio received a letter from Pennzoil saying it had reason to believe there were "good amounts" of uranium on his property. Riggio reacted by getting in touch with Exxon, a Pennzoil rival. Exxon reacted by drilling some test holes on Riggio's land and two other tracts in the area. "The results," said J. Wiley Bragg, a spokesman for Exxon Co. U.S.A., "were not discouraging."

Soon Sohio and Chevron were also afield. Jersey City promptly gave permission to explore land the municipality had acquired for a potential water supply. The mayor of West Milford (pop. 23,000) declared that jobs created by mining would be good for his town, adding that he trusted the state's department of environmental protection to work out any ecological problems. The department in turn said that it was relying on the oil companies to prevent environmental damage. Declared Bragg: "We know that people are concerned with the environment. So are we." Twenty years ago, most citizens would have been satisfied with such statements. But, like other Americans, Jefferson Township inhabitants are now haunted by memories of things like the Santa Barbara Channel spill, charges of oil price manipulation and a deep suspicion of uranium itself, a substance once so devoutly sought after.

The oil firms' stance turned out to be anything but reassuring. "There are risks," Bragg admitted. But, he insisted, "they are manageable. If mining were carried out under the proper safeguards, the element of implication to John Q. Citizen outside the area would be measured in probable matters of days off one's life expectancy rather than months or years." Snapped a Jefferson Township resident: "I don't think that any oil company has a right to tell me that I can spare a few days off my life expectancy." Avidly, the audience listened as Princeton Researcher Peter Montague described his studies, beginning in 1970, of uranium mining in Colorado, New Mexico, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. Public Health Service statistics, Montague says, show that underground uranium miners are four times more likely to get lung cancer than the average citizen.

Complicating things in Jefferson Township is the problem of water. For nearly ten years a number of residents have been unable to drink their water because it is contaminated by sewage. For the past two years an even larger group, some 550 families who get their water out of 83-acre Lake Shawnee, have been able to drink their tap water only after boiling it for ten minutes. The water is a bacterial bouillabaisse that contains coliform bacteria and chloroform. The affected families, who have formed an organization known as Jug Luggers because they often haul their own water, refer to the discolored lake water as "Jefferson Township crude."

Preliminary studies have shown there is plenty of water in the rock under the northern New Jersey hills, and lawsuits have been initiated to force town officials to tap it. But townsfolk fear this water could be contaminated if uranium mining, or even exploratory drilling, is permitted. Montague's researches confirm that mining and exploration can contaminate ground water for miles around, as it has in the mineral belt around Grants, N. Mex. Said Evelyn Witt, president of the Jefferson Township Jug Luggers, during the high school meeting: "We're not against progress. But we can live without uranium. Not without water."

The debate has raged for months. Neither the oil companies' case nor their credibility was much enhanced by a recent Sohio company field trip for residents. During the trip, a company officer kept saying that the uranium in the ground was so hazardous, the company would be doing the locals a real favor by taking it away. Many residents figured resistance was futile. As one put it, "In this country, whatever the oil companies want they get."

The view proved unnecessarily cynical. Feeling that the state was unlikely to act swiftly on behalf of Jefferson Township, the council finally passed a local ordinance forbidding uranium mining or processing within the township limits. For better or for worse, that seemed to settle the matter. At least for now: some New Jerseyites remain convinced that the prospectors may try again later, and intend to keep their protest arsenal at ready alert.

—By Peter Stoler

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Reagan extolling hardhats in Manhattan

Surrounded by children in Polish dress, Reagan pursues Slavic votes in Pennsylvania

TIME/OCTOBER 13, 1980

COVER STORY

The Jackpot States

Eight big ones will decide an election that Reagan now leads

With one month to go in the longest presidential campaign in American history, the candidates are acting as if they are just getting started. They are putting on a burst of speed, going more places, giving more speeches, campaigning as if their lives depended on it—and indeed their political lives do. In these last critical weeks, Carter and Reagan are trying to reach the winning number of 270 electoral votes by zeroing in on the same glittering jackpot—the nation's eight most populous states, with a combined total of 228 electoral votes: California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Texas, Ohio, Michigan and Florida. In a tightly contested race with a dissatisfied electorate and a large undecided bloc showing up in some polls, a small shift in any state could determine the outcome. The candidates cannot afford to take any chances; they are zealously going after every vote they can find in the crucial eight.

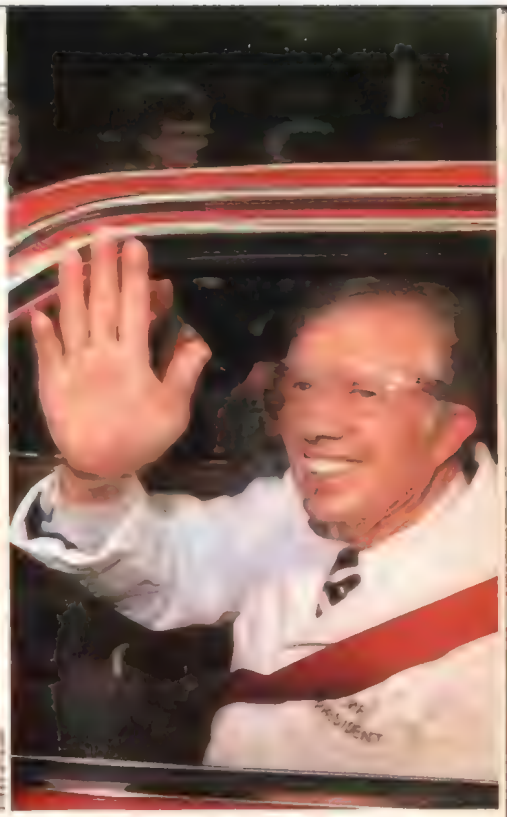
A tantalizing development of the 1980 presidential race is that while the national polls, on which most public attention is focused, give Reagan a slim lead in the popular vote, the former California Governor seems to be well ahead in the state-by-state tally of electoral votes that determines who wins the White House. A TIME survey shows that Reagan now has a firm lead in states with 93 electoral votes, and that states with 222 more votes are leaning his way. In contrast, Carter is safely ahead in states with only 54 votes and has an edge in those with just 93 more.

Reagan starts with a broad sweep of states in the West, plus a good chance of cracking Carter's base in the South. With that advantage, winning only three or four of the jackpot states could push him over the top. Five of the eight are now leaning to Reagan, and two more are too close to call either way.

In 1976, Carter won every Southeastern state except Virginia. By taking Texas and splitting the industrial North with Jerry Ford, he was narrowly the victor. But this year, he has not been able to make up for the erosion at home by winning new strongholds in the North. He has groups of faithful supporters—teachers, public employees, blacks and Hispanics—but he has at least partly lost the backing of other traditional members of the Democratic coalition: white ethnics and Jews. He cannot win without getting their votes in substantial numbers, particularly in the eight battleground states. As of today, only one—New York—is leaning his way. But Carter certainly cannot be ruled out. The undecided vote appears to be so large that the President could still end up winning a number of the states—and the election.

Reagan is not making Carter's job any easier. While the Republican still clings to his conservative views on key issues, he was taking no extreme positions last week. In fact, as he crisscrossed the industrial North, campaigning in Democratic blue-collar areas, he almost seemed to have changed parties. The old-style

Hoping for a union label, Carter shares a laugh with garment workers in New York City



Carter wooing autoworkers in Detroit

scourge of the liberals was barely recognizable. At a noon rally in downtown Paterson, N.J., Reagan once again attacked Carter for putting people out of work. "While Mr. Carter has the nomination of the Democratic Party in his hands, I don't think he has the values of the millions of hard-working Democrats in his heart. Al Smith used to say: 'Let's look at the record.' Well, I submit that my record is one that Democrats, Republicans and Independents can support."

At a construction site in Manhattan, where Reagan called for building a controversial roadway that will provide more jobs, he reminded his hard-hat audience of his lifelong union membership. "And I was six times union president." Then with a jaunty tilt of his head as if the thought had just occurred to him, he added: "By golly, I think I'm the first person who could say that who has run for President."

By week's end Reagan had jettisoned some earlier unpopular positions, notably his opposition to federal loan guarantees to New York City. He attributed his change of heart to New York City Mayor Edward Koch: "Ever since Koch started to straighten things out, I've been in favor of those guarantees."

While Reagan was attempting to tear apart the Democratic coalition, the President was desperately trying to cement it. Carter received a tumultuous welcome at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York. In an effort to win back the wavering Jewish vote, he made one of his strongest pledges on Israel. If the United Nations expels Israel, declared the President, the U.S. would pull out of the organization. He then went on in fervid defense of ERA, dear to the heart of the women union members and to other Americans disturbed by the opposition to the amendment in the G.O.P. platform.

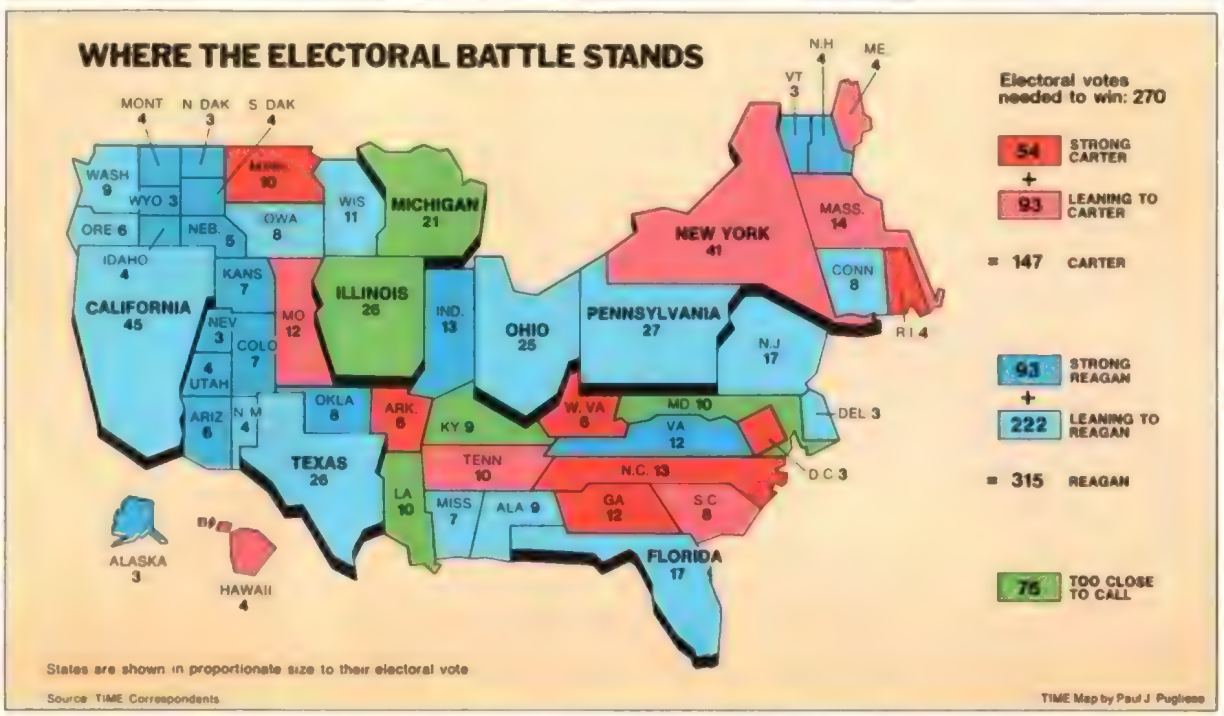
In Detroit, Carter delivered a commercial for the new American small cars designed to lift the industry out of the doldrums: "Today, as President, I urge American consumers to go into the showrooms and test-drive these new American cars. There's not a better-built, safer, more durable or more efficient car today."

Carter stuck to the highroad of the issues during the week, avoiding the kind of scathing personal attack that has backfired against him. But he still feels that his best campaign weapon is fear of Reagan, and he plans to exploit the issue. His new television ads feature a man-in-the-street declaring that Reagan "would have got us into a war by now."

Campaigning in Detroit for Carter, Coretta King called Reagan the candidate of white "exclusiveness." If he is elected, she charged, the "Klan will be quite comfortable" with his Administration. But the target of these attacks seemed to take them in stride. In Manhattan, Reagan remarked with a smile: "I've been very busy, as you know, starting nuclear wars and doing away with Social Security and all those things—that

His campaign slowing, Anderson muses before addressing students in Chapel Hill, N.C.

"As John goes," worries a top G.O.P. strategist in New York, "so go we."



is, if you listen to what the other fellas are saying."

As the President made the rounds of the key states, he acted a bit like Santa Claus distributing gifts. During a swing to Niagara Falls, he announced federal grants to remove dangerous nuclear waste in upstate New York and to relocate the anxious residents of the Love Canal. Carter also revealed a new program to aid the ailing steel industry. Ahead of schedule, he announced the Administration plans to award $150 million in urban-development grants to economically depressed cities; there will be $200 million from the Transportation Department for buses, $300 million for farmers who have suffered damage in the drought.

Carter, however, may need all the federal largesse at his disposal, since he is lagging far behind his opponent in raising campaign funds. While each major candidate receives $29.4 million in federal funds, there are numerous ways that more money can be lawfully raised. The Republican National Committee has collected some $25 million that can be used to register citizens and get out the vote, to send direct mail appeals and to pay almost all organizational costs on the state level. In contrast, the Democrats have drummed up a paltry $3.5 million. Said a Carter aide in a medley of metaphors: "We're operating in the teeth of an inadequate purse."

Still, the Democrats are not so strapped for funds that they could not strike an unusual deal with Ted Kennedy. Deputy Campaign Manager Hamilton Jordan signed a contract to provide Kennedy with $500,000 raised at a series of galas that Carter and the Senator will attend. In return for this assistance in paying off his $1.7 million in campaign debts, Kennedy has pledged to barnstorm for the President.

A key factor in most of the critical big states, largely beyond the control of either Carter or Reagan, is the independent candidacy of John Anderson. The Illinois Congressman appears to be slipping in the polls, as third-party candidates generally do; the question is where his votes are going. So far, they seem to have gone mainly to Reagan, probably because Anderson has moved leftward on many issues. But the Congressman's staunchest support is thought to come from liberals deserting Carter. Thus, the Republicans, though believing that Anderson may be hurting them in some areas, are generally rooting for him to stay in the race while the Democrats are trying to push him out. Says a Carter aide: "Even in the single digits, Anderson can hurt us badly in New York and Illinois." Dispatches in depth from the eight battleground states, in order of their electoral vote size:

CALIFORNIA. Sound and fury signifying —how much? That is what the Republicans are wondering about the $2.6 million budgeted by the Democrats to accomplish what many consider the impossible: defeating Reagan in his home state. Says Les Francis, Carter's national field director: "We're not spending that kind of money on a whim. The state is winnable." Scoffs Dean Burch, George Bush's top aide: "I think Carter is smoking dope on California." If Reagan should lose California, it would signal a nationwide collapse. Without his home state, Reagan's candidacy is almost unthinkable: it is California or bust. A September survey by Independent Pollster Mervin Field gave him a comfortable lead over Carter of 39% to 29%, with Anderson at 18%.

Still the Democrats are buoyed by the fact that they have a 57% to 34% edge in registration, and that Carter has reduced Reagan's lead by 20 points since last summer. Moreover, California is a "media state," where late and wide shifts of opinion among voters are possible. Four years ago Carter lost to Jerry Ford by a scant 1.7% of the vote. The Democrats think he would have won if the turnout had been heavier in traditional Democratic areas, so they plan to allot a big chunk of their funds to sign up more voters. They are also relying on a new coalition of unions, teachers and other public employees, black and Hispanic groups that defeated Howard Jarvis' Proposition 9, which would have cut state income taxes. Says Roland Vincent, deputy director of the Carter state campaign: "These groups are as concerned about Reagan as they were about Proposition 9."

But the Democrats recognize the obstacles that lie in their way. Anderson's hard-core support is staunchly liberal and thus draws from Carter. So far at any rate, it has scarcely budged. Says a top Anderson fund raiser in Los Angeles: "We'd rather throw our vote away than give it to Carter." Ted Kennedy's supporters are lukewarm about working for Carter. Says one, emotionally: "We can't find it in our hearts to campaign for this guy. Our mem-

ories aren't that short." Nor is Jerry Brown, the enigmatic Democratic Governor, embracing Carter. Confides a former aide: "Jerry's been doing a lot of soul searching. He still thinks Carter has a limited, linear mind and that he won't be able to cope with most of the problems of the next four years. Jerry has his own credibility to worry about." Observes Pollster Field: "Reagan is not as strong in California as everybody thinks he is. But he's strong enough to beat Carter."

NEW YORK. If straphangers in Gotham would raise their eyes from their newspapers, they would notice a prominent ad for President Carter. The smiling President is signing a bill to give federal aid to the city in 1978. Alongside is a quote from Reagan: "I have included in my morning and evening prayers every day, the prayer that the Federal Government *not* bail out New York City." Urges the ad: "Re-elect President Carter, a friend of America's cities."

New York may just heed that advice, though the contest is close. Winning the state with the second most electoral votes is essential for Carter, since California, the state with the most, still seems to lie beyond his reach. The President frankly told the Business and Labor Committee for Carter, "It is impossible to figure out how to win re-election without New York."

As new polls have come out, his supporters have begun to breathe a little more easily. Carter seems to be moving ahead of Reagan, largely at the expense of Anderson, who had been getting as much as 18% in the polls but who now has begun slipping—a sign that disenchanted Democrats may be coming home. Admits a top G.O.P. strategist: "We feel that we don't have a lot of control in this state. As John goes, so go we." Democrats, however, worry that Anderson could swing New York to Reagan if he took as little as 10% of the state's vote.

However much the President says he loves New York, he will never be a beloved figure in the Empire State. Erie County Democratic Leader Joe Crangle puts it bluntly: "The best thing that Carter has working for him is the Democratic line on the ballot. That will bring out the party's traditional support, and that's a big plus." But Crangle admits that a heavy vote may not emerge because of widespread indifference to Carter. Thus the Democrats are embarking on a registration drive to add to their 3-to-2 superiority over Republicans.

The bloc that is most hotly contested is the Jewish vote, which provides roughly 20% of the turnout in presidential contests. In 1976 Carter won about 75% of the Jewish vote; some polls now give him around 30%, Reagan somewhat less, with a large group still undecided. "I've never seen so little support among Jewish voters for a Democratic presidential candidate," says Rita Hauser, a top Reagan campaign official in New York. "That's unprecedented." It also is unlikely to persist until Election Day; the Democrats are confident that enough defectors will return to the fold to give the victory to Carter. By any calculation, the Jewish vote appears to hold the key to the outcome.

PENNSYLVANIA. The state with the third largest number of electoral votes is easing toward Reagan. Though Carter won Pennsylvania in 1976, by a 123,073-vote margin, and Democrats outnumber Republicans by 733,000, the Pennsylvania Poll taken last week puts the Californian ahead of the President 40% to 33%, with 16% for Anderson.

The survey indicates that Reagan is benefiting from the economic issue, which now overshadows international concerns in voters' minds. Gaining confidence, state Republicans seem mainly worried that Carter will attempt some last-minute move overseas to rescue his campaign. Thus they are setting aside much of their warchest and buying up television time in advance in order to respond to an "October surprise" by the President.

Reagan is not only picking up heavy support in the bedroom communities around Philadelphia, he is cutting into the Democratic blue-collar vote more clearly than in other states. In staunchly Democratic Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Poll gives Carter a lead of only 6%, nowhere near enough to overcome Reagan's advantage in the rest of the state. (In 1976 Carter had a lead of more than 2 to 1 in the city.) To try to widen the margin, Democratic Mayor William Green is working strenuously for Carter, and last week Vice President Walter Mondale came to town to celebrate the arrival of the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* in the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard to begin a $500 million overhaul that will create an estimated 5,000 jobs.

Carter faces additional trouble in the industrial northeast of the state, where unemployment has reached 13% and a large Slavic population is especially receptive to Reagan's antiabortion stand. "People are mad up there," admits Dan Horgan, Carter's state coordinator. "I don't know the answer to that problem." Campaigning in Wilkes-Barre last week, Reagan assailed the President for failing to keep his pledge to make coal the nation's No. 1 energy source. Said Reagan: "Mr. Carter has promised dramatically to increase coal production, yet some 22,000 miners are out of work, and almost one-eighth of our coal capacity lies idle."

In rebuttal, labor leaders are barnstorming the state recalling old Reagan quotes, *e.g.*: "We were told that 17 million Americans went to bed hungry every night. Well, that is probably true. They were all on a diet." They also are reminding voters of Reagan's past opposition to the minimum wage and food stamps for strikers. But the Pennsylvania Poll shows union-oriented voters preferring Carter to Reagan by only 43% to 28% —and that may not be enough to keep the state in the President's column on Nov. 4.

ILLINOIS. No matter how big a vote the Republican candidate accumulated downstate, Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley could sometimes pull enough out of Cook County to top it—never mind how. But Daley is gone, his once impregnable machine is in disrepair, and it is headed by a mayor who has been openly hostile to Jimmy Carter. "Calamity Jane" Byrne supported Kennedy in the primary, which Carter won, and still regards the Georgian as a one-term President.

The President and the mayor have kissed, but they have not exactly made

Farmers and Ranchers for Reagan & Bush

"I have included in my morning and evening prayers every day, the prayer that the Federal government not bail out New York."
Gov. Ronald Reagan

Re-Elect President Carter. A friend of America's cities.

gimme jimmy.

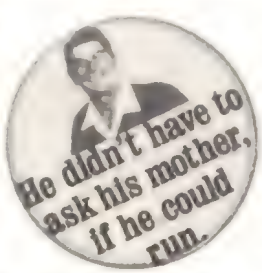
up. The White House has been the suitor, inviting her to Washington twice and swamping Chicago with all kinds of federal favors, including $91 million in transportation funds and $13 million in housing grants. The Administration even turned over a military facility at Chicago-O'Hare airport to the city, and last week the Justice Department issued a mild directive on school desegregation, although HEW had earlier rejected a stronger plan proposed by the city. These concessions have improved Carter's popularity, but his best hope may lie with the late mayor's son, Richard M. Daley, who is running for state's attorney of Cook County and is expected to bring out a big vote. Says Louis Masotti, a political scientist at Northwestern University: "This may be one of the first elections in Chicago history where the President will ride to victory on the coattails of a local candidate."

The President is counting heavily on blacks, but the size of the turnout is questionable. To spur the vote, Carter's camp is opening new offices in the black wards and plans to run television spots featuring Andrew Young and other prominent blacks praising the President.

The Democrats concede the more conservative suburbs to the Republicans, although they intend to put up a stiff fight for a larger share of the vote than they won in 1976. An increasing number of blue-collar workers, Jews and blacks have been moving to the neighborhoods surrounding Chicago while keeping their Democratic registration.

The other major battlefield is downstate among rural conservative voters, who gave Carter a higher tally in 1976 than a Democrat usually gets. Like other conservatives, they are now leaning to Reagan. In Illinois this year, with no Daley at the helm in Cook County, anything can happen. Says Illinois State Representative Donald Totten, who heads the Reagan campaign in four Midwestern states: "There's a lot of switching around going on out there."

TEXAS. When Carter defeated Ford by 129,000 votes out of 4 million cast in the state, he was supported by a united Democratic Party under the leadership of Governor Dolph Briscoe. But Briscoe is now out of office and unwilling to lift a finger for Carter. Along with many other Democrats, he is angry at the President's energy policies, especially the windfall-profits tax on the oil industry. "If I get out and campaign," explains Briscoe, "I might just campaign for myself. When I campaigned for someone else four years ago, the results didn't turn out so well."



Democrats like former Governors Preston Smith and Allan Shivers are actively supporting Reagan; and last week they were joined by still another defector, Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, who said he preferred a "competent extremist" in the White House to an "incompetent moderate"—not that he thought Reagan was extreme any longer.

Meantime, the Republicans occupy the statehouse and are out for blood. Contentious Governor William Clements is committing his political prestige to beating Carter in Texas and thus speeding up the trend to a two-party state. With more than $3 million at their disposal, the Republicans are outspending the Democrats 2 to 1. Complains Carter's Texas campaign director, Robert Beckel: "When you've got that kind of money, you could organize Argentina. I kind of feel like a speedboat up against the *Nimitz*."

But the nation's third most populous state is still heavily Democratic, and the minority vote, traditionally solid for the Democrats, has been growing. The black vote is now 12% of the total, and Hispanic registration has nearly doubled in four years, to 18%. The blacks remain pro-Carter, but the Democrats cannot take the Hispanics for granted; many admire Reagan's tall-in-the-saddle individualism. The Republicans are trying just as hard as the Democrats to win the Hispanic vote, figuring that as much as 30% of the bloc would assure them victory in Texas. Still, Ruben Bonilla, president of the pro-Carter League of United Latin-American Citizens, cautions that Reagan is too conservative for most Hispanics. "If we wanted an actor," he quips, "we would vote for Ricardo Montalban."

Reagan will probably capture much more of the rural Texas vote than Ford did, whittling down the Carter total. In booming Houston and Dallas, increasingly the home of transplanted Yankees with a moderate Republican outlook, Vice-Presidential Candidate George Bush is expected to help. If Texas is a must for Reagan, it could be the Alamo for Carter. Since Texas was admitted to the Union in 1848, no Democrat has been elected President without carrying the Lone Star State.

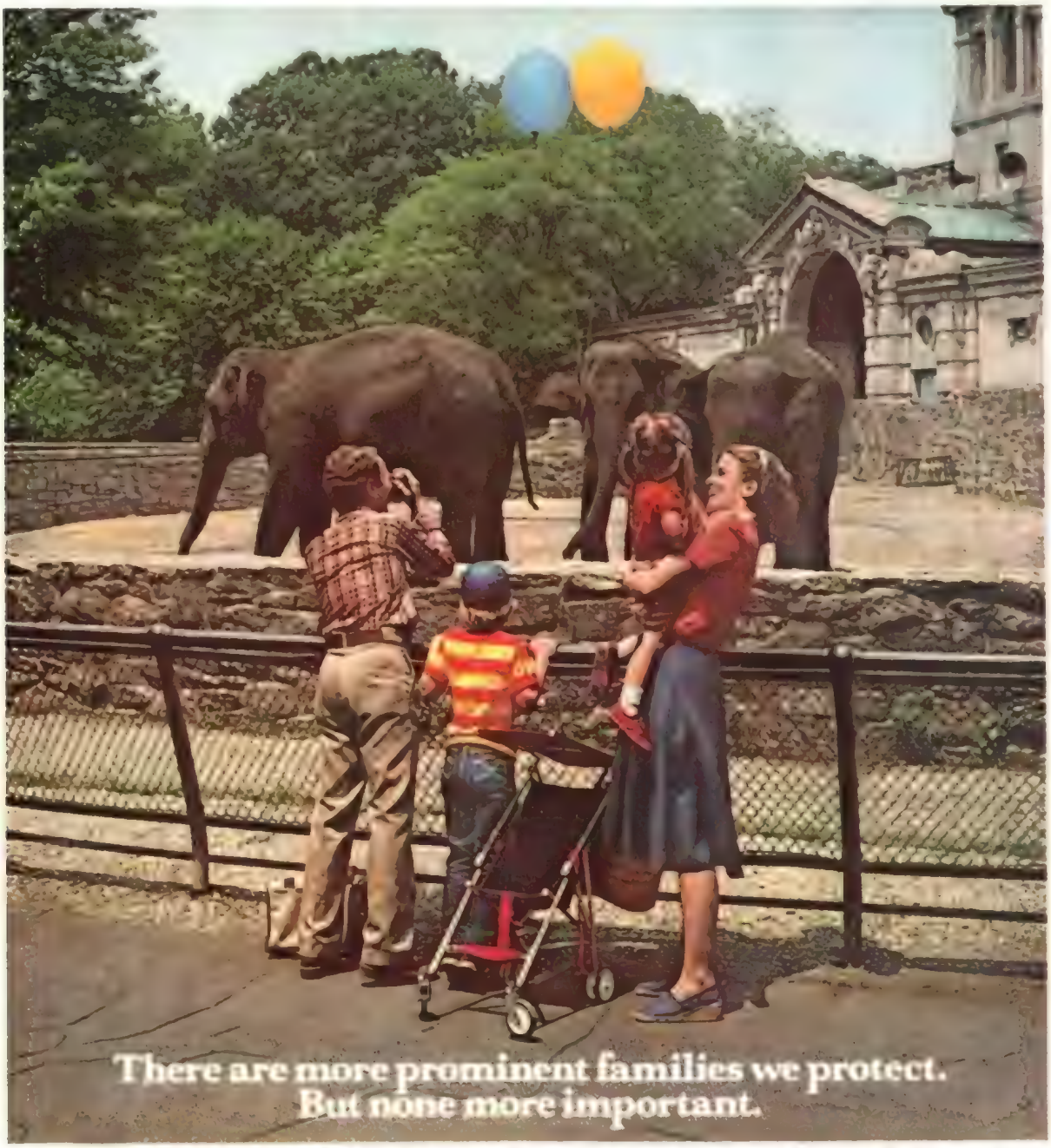
OHIO. Of all the states in the Union, Ohio may be the most representative—a balance of farms, small towns and big cities. It is also fairly evenly divided politically. Cleveland produces a large Democratic vote; the Republicans predominate downstate. Understandably, presidential elections are often cliffhangers. Harry Truman defeated Thomas Dewey by 7,107 votes in 1948; Carter squeezed by Ford with 11,116 votes in 1976.

A Market Opinion Research poll, taken by Robert Teeter in September, shows Reagan defeating Carter 41% to 31%; but Jim Wray, state G.O.P. campaign coordinator, is not comfortable with that lead: "It's still a horse race." The Carterites agree. "Everyone is uneasy," says Martin J. Hughes, international vice president of the Communications Workers of America. The aging steel mills that have been shut down in Youngstown and the state unemployment rate, which reached more than 10% last summer, have shaken the blue-collar workers' allegiance to the Democratic Party. "The state is still Reagan's to lose," admits Tim Hagan, Democratic chairman of Cuyahoga County.

The Democrats remain in disarray after the Carter-Kennedy donnybrook. Hagan, who supported Kennedy's losing bid in the primary, is trying to heal the wounds. "Our differences with Carter are inconsequential compared to our differences with Reagan," he insists. Governor James Rhodes is stumping the state for Reagan in his usual slam-bang style, plunking down his billfold on the table and telling blue-collar audiences: "That's the issue—who puts something in there rather than who takes it out."

As the battle quickens, Reagan is visiting the state for the third time this week; Carter last week made his third appearance in the past month; and Cabinet heads have been shuttling in and out as if they were on commuter planes. Carter is not expected to do as well in the Bible Belt in the southern part of Ohio as he did in 1976. Reagan is increasingly popular with evangelical fundamentalists.

The Ohio outcome may boil down to the blue-collar vote, which Reagan is assiduously wooing in areas like Parma and Maple Heights around Cleveland. "I like



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6. Sweepstakes open to all U.S. residents over 21 years of age, except employees and their families of Philip Morris Inc., its advertising agency Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc., and National Judging Institute, Inc. This offer is subject to all Federal, State and local laws. Void in Michigan and wherever prohibited, restricted or taxed.
7. **For a list of winners, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Benson & Hedges Winners' List, P.O. Box 2361, Westbury, New York 11591. Winners' List will be available by May 15, 1981.**

Benson & Hedges 100's, P.O. Box 2101
Westbury, New York 11591

I've chosen the following Sweepstakes and I've read the rules carefully. The Sweepstakes number is _____ and the prize is _____

Name _____ (Please Print)

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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A formal V-6 Pontiac with a better mpg rat

Why does Pontiac's roomy mid-size Grand LeMans with available automatic transmission, offer an estimated mpg that's five better than the current 1980 Volvo GLE V-6, nine estimated mpg better on the highway? Because beneath the handsome new 4-door formal roofline, Pontiac know-how is hard at work.

30 EPA EST. MPG **21** EPA EST. MPG

Remember: Compare the "estimated mpg" with the "estimated mpg" of other cars. You may get different mileage, depending on how fast you drive, weather conditions and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be less than the estimated highway fuel economy. Grand LeMans' mileage is lower in California but still beats Volvo. Grand LeMans is equipped with GM-built engines produced by various divisions. See your dealer for details.

COSTS $6,115 LESS

You can buy Grand LeMans for $7,595, as shown. The current Volvo GLE, on the other hand, is priced at $13,710. That's a comparison of manufacturers' suggested retail prices. Taxes, license, destination charges and available equipment extra. Destination charges vary by location and affect comparison. *Level of standard equipment varies.*

SEATS SIX TO VOLVO'S FIVE

Whether you're traveling across country or commuting across town, Grand LeMans seats one more adult than Volvo. And there's room to stretch, because Pontiac know-how gives Grand LeMans more front headroom than Volvo and more legroom front and rear.

MORE LUGGAGE ROOM

And there's room for luggage that won't fit into the Volvo, because Grand LeMans' trunk is three cubic feet larger. That's more Pontiac know-how.

CORROSION PROTECTION WARRANTY

Volvo only speaks highly of its extensive anti-corrosion

"HOW CAN PONTIAC DO IT FOR THE MONEY?"

ANNOUNCING PONTIAC

ing than a V-6 Volvo... for thousands less.

measures, but offers no guarantees. Pontiac, on the other hand, puts it in writing with a three-year limited warranty against rust perforation. Grand LeMans resists corrosion with special primary sealers, inner fender shields and advanced metallurgical and steel-coated processes that are a lot more impressive than talk.

EXTENSIVE SOUND DEADENING

Grand LeMans' impressive level of quiet makes listening to the available advanced Delco-GM sound systems a joy. Detailed sealing of joints and seams, combined with the newest noise suppression techniques, give Grand LeMans a reassuringly solid feel. Thick, one-piece cut-pile carpeting further diminishes noise and provides a precise fit.

PLUS PONTIAC'S NEW EFFICIENCY SYSTEM, INCLUDING GM's COMPUTER COMMAND CONTROL

New Computer Command Control continuously adjusts to a range of altitudes, temperatures and fuel octanes to deliver smooth performance with reduced emissions. Gas-wasting friction is reduced by easy-rolling high-pressure tires. And a torque converter automatic transmission clutch helps save fuel. They're all part of Pontiac's new Efficiency System, a system designed to give new '81 Pontiacs improved fuel economy, plus the comfort, styling and performance you deserve.

YOUR PONTIAC DEALER MAY HAVE MORE WAYS TO FINANCE THAN A BANK

That's because he's in touch with many of the financial institutions in your area. So don't wait. Talk to your Pontiac dealer now. He's fully informed about the respective advantages of buying or leasing. After you've looked at foreign cars like Volvo, you'll wonder: How can Pontiac do it for the money?

MORE PONTIAC KNOW-HOW TO THE GALLON

'S '81 GRAND LE MANS

Our newest Video Director gives you 14 day programming, remote control with stop action and Speed Search* (fast forward and reverse with picture), 5 hour tape time, audio dubbing, electronic tuning, automatic indexing and superb picture quality.

Just what you'd expect from Zenith.

ZENITH

The quality goes in before the name goes on

*Beta II mode

Reagan," many workers seem to be saying. "But can I trust Reagan and the Republican Party with my economic future?" How Ohio goes largely depends on the answer to that question.

MICHIGAN. In August, Michigan's Market Opinion Research poll showed Reagan with 36% of the vote, Carter with 32%, Anderson with 17%, and 17% undecided. In late September the same survey indicated that Reagan had 29%, Carter 27%, Anderson still had 17%, but the undecided had jumped to 27%, a shift that demonstrates how little Michigan voters care for the candidates. Indeed, private G.O.P. polls put the undecided vote as high as 40%. The man who wins will be the least objectionable in a state that prefers competent moderates.

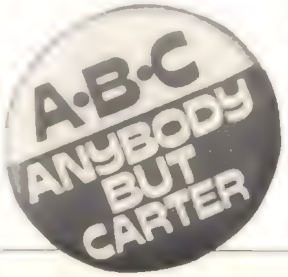
Michigan's ideal kind of Republican happens to be its Governor: William Milliken, who supported George Bush in the primary and helped him defeat Reagan 2 to 1. Reagan still causes uneasiness among many Republican regulars, who are certainly ready for a change in Washington but not too much of one. Rock the boat, to be sure, but for heaven's sake don't capsize it. Michigan is one state where Anderson may be hurting Reagan more than Carter because of the defection of liberal Republicans. Milliken, however, is now vigorously campaigning for Reagan because Bush is on the ticket, and may tip the balance in another too-close-to-call state.

In Carter's corner is Detroit's combative mayor, Coleman Young, all the scrappier now that his city has received an impressive $50 million in federal grants in the past two weeks. Young is sure to do his level best to bring out the black vote. More questionable is the blue-collar vote. The leadership of the powerful United Auto Workers union, bulwark of the state Democratic Party, is stepping on the gas for the President, but much of the membership remains skeptical about Carter, whose economic policies they blame for the fact that one-third of the auto industry's employees have been laid off in the past year. To counteract this resentment, union leaders are trying to convince members that life under Reagan would be much worse. But nobody knows if the workers will buy that argument.

FLORIDA. The presidential race is influenced by local issues in every state, but perhaps the most inflammatory can be found in Florida. The influx of tens of thousands of Cubans and Haitians has put a staggering burden on state resources and sent the crime rate skyrocketing, tarnishing Florida's fun-in-the-sun image. Many residents hold Carter to blame for letting the refugees enter in the first place and then not providing enough federal help. Last summer tempers rose so high that Democratic Governor Robert Graham informed the President that a visit to the state would be "counterproductive." Last week Carter backed a bill providing $100 million in federal funds for relocating refugees—some $80 million of which will go to Florida. Graham then offered to campaign with the President later this month.

As in other states, the President must hold together an unwieldy ethnic mix of blacks, Jews and rural white conservatives —a tricky balancing act under the best of circumstances. Blacks show no sign of defecting. The problem is to get them to vote. The rural whites in the Florida panhandle are considerably more wary. They have reservations about Carter's economic, defense and foreign policies, and they are attracted by Reagan, who speaks their language. So are the established Cubans in Florida, who feel that the Republican would crack down harder on Castro than Carter does.

More worrisome still for Carter is the Jewish vote, concentrated in the Miami area, where the President must win by a wide margin. Last week the Carter campaign was jolted when Dade County Commissioner Barry Schreiber, a Miami lawyer who supported Kennedy in the primary, joined the Reagan camp as an "unofficial liaison with the Jewish community." Explained Schreiber: "As an American, I am deeply convinced that Mr. Carter cannot be trusted to keep his pledges concerning the security of Israel." On Sunday the President got some welcome news. Although a poll by the Florida newspapers showed Reagan leading, 42% to 40%, the Jewish vote was lining up behind him against the Californian, 61% to 14%.



Both candidates are vigorously pursuing the vote of Florida's sizable elderly population. Carter lambastes Reagan for once proposing a scheme of voluntary Social Security, but the Governor now insists that he would not change any benefits. The Republican assails the President for the inflation that is particularly hard on people living on fixed incomes. This time around, the Republicans are not conceding a single constituency to the opposition—a strategy that may well spell victory in November.

■ ■ ■

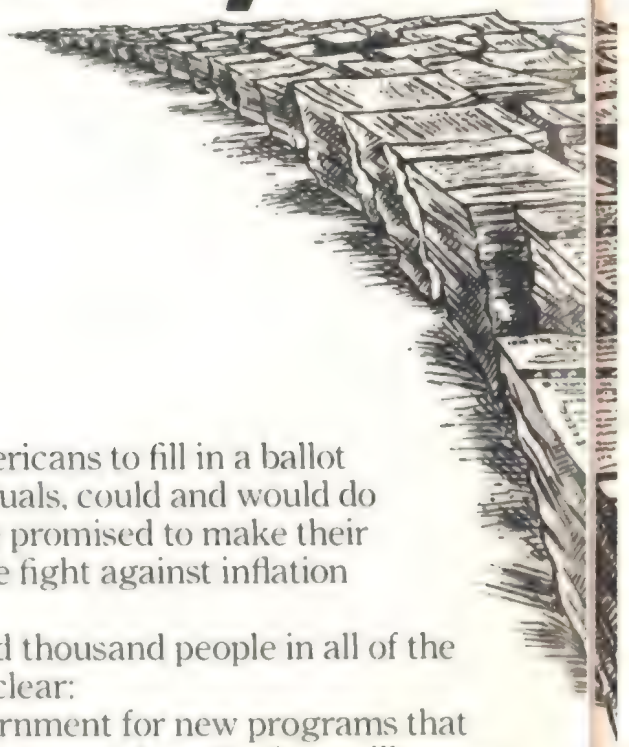
In the final month of the campaign, the Carter forces will step up their attack on Reagan with commercials questioning his knowledge and his experience. The President will be scheduled for events that show him at his best: town meetings where he answers questions by concerned citizens. He is considering spending a night with a Jewish family in New York.

Reagan will try to avoid answering attacks by the President and concentrate on the economic issue and Carter's competence, as he was able to do last week. Says one Carter aide: "His whole strategy is just to hold on. He's doing that too damn well." Reagan plans to use TV commercials aimed at specific states and to keep hammering away at his opponent's failures without getting so personal that he harms his own genial image. Says Reagan Strategist Richard Wirthlin: "The campaign so far has been event-driven to a large extent. We think we can now bring it back to the Carter record."

Yet events have a way of intruding on the best-managed campaigns, suddenly placing the candidates at the mercy of happenings largely beyond their control. If the economic indicators go up, as they did last week, Carter presumably benefits. Nobody can yet predict what will happen in the Persian Gulf war or who might gain from it. Carter might appear statesmanlike in his role as Commander in Chief, or he might seem inept because of his inability to influence events

As in so many areas of the complex political life of a diverse nation, it all depends. So, while Reagan is ahead now, a campaign's last month is always its longest. The voters' interest warms, the attention begins to concentrate, everything said and spent matters more, the mosaic of choice begins to harden. The battle for the battleground states has, in a sense, just begun. *—By Edwin Warner. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and Christopher Ogden/Washington with other U.S. bureaus*

HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS VOTE: SELF-CONTROL, YES.



Earlier this year, we asked concerned Americans to fill in a ballot listing six areas in which they, as individuals, could and would do something to help control inflation. And we promised to make their concerns and their determination to join the fight against inflation known to their leaders in Washington.

We've now heard from over five hundred thousand people in all of the fifty states. And their message is loud and clear:

They *will* reduce their demands on government for new programs that require deficit spending; they *will* reduce their use of credit; they *will* expect less government regulation unless the social benefit justifies the cost; they *will* support measures that will increase the rate of productivity; and they *will* make every effort to conserve energy. They will do all these things *and* expect their elected representatives to do the same.

In keeping with our commitment to those who sent in a ballot, we've reported their determination to self-control inflation to every U.S. Senator and Representative, and to all state Governors.

We believe that our leaders in Washington and in the state capitals across the nation will take heart from—and respond positively to—the voices of hundreds of thousands of Americans saying, "Inflation, no. Self-control, yes."

THOUSANDS OF INFLATION, NO.

We will continue in our effort to make the voice of the people on this most critical national issue heard by those in government.

Inflation. Let's Self-Control It.

Inflation threatens every business, institution, and individual in the nation. We believe it will be brought under control only when the American people understand the problem, determine to do everything within their power to contribute toward its solution, and demand that their elected representatives do the same.

THE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES IN AMERICA

Represented by the American Council of Life Insurance.

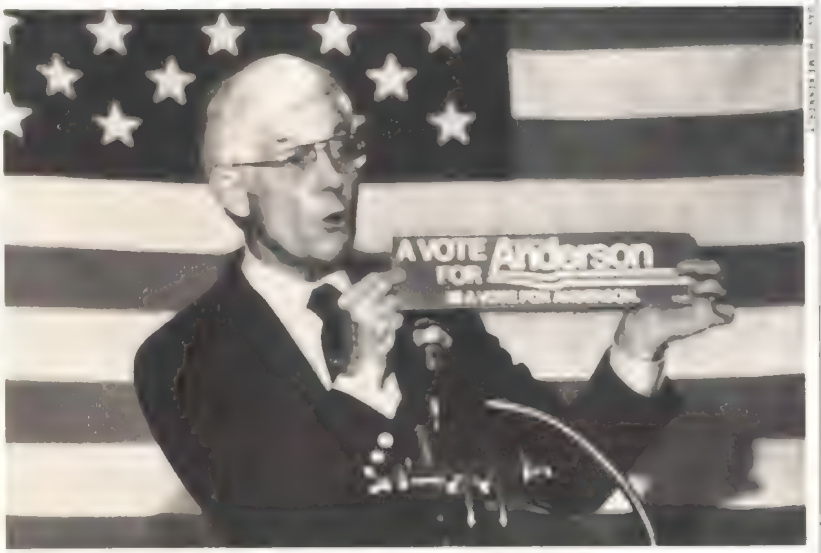
Finally Caught by Catch-22

With no chance of winning, Anderson vows to fight on

The independent candidacy of John Anderson has always faced a kind of Catch-22 dilemma: millions of Americans were not prepared to vote for him unless they were convinced that he had a chance to win. But he had no chance to win unless enough Americans backed him in the polls so that the voters thought he could win. Complicating his problem, the experienced professionals in both parties predicted repeatedly that as the election approached, Anderson's support would fade. Last week those predictions, partly self-fulfilling, looked accurate.

The most devastating blow to Anderson's prospects was a New York *Times*/CBS news survey showing that his long-awaited clear shot at achieving new public stature, the debate with Ronald Reagan, had fizzled. The poll had figured Anderson's national support at a weak 9% before the debate—and rated him at exactly the same level afterward. The only consolation for Anderson was that other polls still placed him much higher (Harris at 19%, Gallup at 14%). Anderson had skillfully presented his issues and shown that his debating skills were at least comparable to those of the Republican candidate, but his campaign got none of the lift that it so sorely needed. Some of his most ardent supporters conceded last week that Anderson had no chance of victory in November. It seemed increasingly unlikely that the Independent Anderson would win even a single state.

Thus Anderson appears to have become just what he has always vowed he would not be—a "spoiler" who would siphon off enough votes to alter what would have been the outcome if Carter and Reagan had squared off alone. The Congressman briskly rejects this analysis. Last week he told TIME that if he does fail, he expects Reagan to win—but not because of any result of his own candidacy. Said he: "I just will not accept the idea that I am going to be responsible for Reagan's winning. Carter is losing votes because of Carter, because of his performance, because so many people are just turned off by his utter ineptitude. It isn't really that they are all for Reagan, either. But at least Reagan is the unknown evil; Carter is the known evil."



Anderson displaying a friendly auto bumper sticker at a rally in Miami

"Reagan is the unknown evil," says the Independent. "Carter is the known evil."

While not giving up, Anderson could offer only one vague reason for thinking he might yet win. "The tides of public opinion," he noted, "are capable of shifting very dramatically for reasons that sometimes are not easily discerned."

Looking back on his campaign, the snowy-thatched Independent admitted he now realized that "to start a whole movement, a third force in politics, in under six months is too short a period." He also claimed that Carter had benefited from two lucky breaks, just at a time when many Democrats had seemed ready to abandon the President: 1) the economy had picked up slightly "for reasons that had nothing to do with what the Administration did" and 2) Reagan had stumbled badly at first and "made Carter look more viable than he is."

Quite rightly, Anderson takes pride in the fact that he began the Republican primary campaign as a relatively obscure Congressman from Illinois who barely rated an asterisk in national opinion ratings. He wound up collecting some 2 million signatures on petitions that should put him on every state ballot as an independent candidate on Nov. 4—an achievement many experts had considered impossible.

Throughout much of his campaign, Anderson has boldly staked out positions on issues that offer a clear third choice. The fact that they may not be popular did not deter him. His 50¢-per-gal. gas tax, which would be used to cut Social Security taxes, did not endear him to the nation's automobile owners, but would force the U.S. to restrict its driving and hence its dependence on Middle Eastern oil—a goal that seemed especially worthy last week as the war in the gulf continued. Anderson's opposition to the mobile MX missile and to income tax cuts ran against election-year sentiment, as did his backing of Carter's embargo on sales of grain to the Soviet Union—a stand the Congressman took in Iowa.

If Anderson peppered his campaign with a buckshot array of intelligent, unorthodox attacks on specific problems, he nevertheless failed to project the vision that would give wings to a political movement capable of upsetting the two-party system. He might well complain that his 317-page platform was barely read, much less reported. Still the longtime political conservative, who had moderated his views enough to be endorsed by New York's Liberal Party and the *New Republic*, gambled mainly on riding a wave of anti-Carter and anti-Reagan sentiment. That, clearly, was not enough.

The Independent's campaign has been flawed from the beginning by its own failure to give a large cross section of Americans hard and positive reasons to vote for him. What is more, in a campaign once again dominated by personality and TV imagery, Anderson was handicapped. To his credit, he has shunned much of his image-shapers' advice to win votes by artificially changing his platform behavior. Instead, Anderson has remained true to himself: erratically ebullient, enthused, inspiring, as well as dour, bored, cranky and preachy. In a post-debate memo to Anderson, Stewart Mott, a millionaire backer, wrote sympathetically as well as critically: "That fateful evening, you needed to come across as sensational, exciting, lively, endearing. Instead you were stiff, statistical, stubborn, unsmiling—terrible body language. We know you can be 100% better than that in likability."

In recent weeks Anderson has, however, shown that he can take criticism with good humor and heed some advice. After the Washington *Post* reported that

a TV correspondent had to search through hours of videotape to find any film showing him waving and smiling, the candidate walked out on a stage at the University of Maine with a big grin and a wave. Then he told the responsive crowd that he had just read the *Post* article. When a reporter asked in a Boston press conference why he could take days off when his campaign was lagging, Anderson bristled, asking: "Would you begrudge me one day off out of seven?" After other reporters mockingly beat the questioner with their notebooks, shouting their demands for a day off as well, Anderson took the cue. When leaving the room, he whacked the reporter on the head with his own note pad —to the laughter of the press corps.

There have been tactical mistakes in the Anderson campaign. He admits that he switched top campaign staff positions too often at first. His aides are still not convinced that his chief adviser, David Garth, made the right decision in mid-August when he asked some 75,000 campaign workers to work solely on fund-raising. Many declined because they found cadging money odious, and thus were lost to field work such as organizing rallies and getting pro-Anderson voters registered.

Still, the lack of money has been a major Anderson problem. While his campaign has netted nearly $8 million since April 24, it now needs at least another $1 million for a final TV ad drive. Anderson was buoyed last week by a favorable ruling from the Federal Election Commission that his campaign could borrow from banks against the federal funds he will receive if he gets 5% or more of the November vote. The Democratic National Committee had been warning that such loans were illegal, and banks had been holding up Anderson's application. Now his aides expect to announce a successful loan deal this week.

If Anderson does get the loan, he will have to finish the race so that he can pay it back. Despite a concerted drive last week by the Carter campaign, led by Vice President Walter Mondale, to pressure Anderson into pulling out, he vowed to cross the November finish line, irrespective of which candidate he hurts or helps.

With Wife Keke during the lonely primary-campaign days in New England

From an asterisk to a line on the ballots—but with no chance to win.

A sampling of current Anderson supporters taken by TIME correspondents showed that he has a loyal following that seems determined to ride out the race with him. These Anderson backers reject the notion that their votes should be influenced by whether or not Anderson can win. "It is everyone's obligation to vote their conscience," argued George Ward, a consulting engineer in Washington, Conn. Insisted Margaret Gilvar, a housewife in Oakham, Mass.: "It is more important that citizens who are concerned make a protest than be swayed by the impact an Anderson vote could have on the other candidacies." Contended Chicago Attorney Andrew Williams: "The fact that Anderson's chances are reduced doesn't make Carter or Reagan look any better." Asked Ann Lewis, a nursery school teacher in Ferndale, Mich.: "Why can't a vote for Anderson be a vote for Anderson?"

Summed up Laurie Ruskin, a student at Oakland Community College in Bloomfield Hills, Mich.: "If everyone who said they weren't going to vote for Anderson because they were afraid they'd be wasting their vote did vote for him, he'd have an excellent chance of winning." Back to Catch-22. —*By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Eileen Shields with Anderson*

"Secure in My Own Mind"

Flying from Denver to Los Angeles last week in his chartered Boeing 727, John Anderson talked with TIME *Correspondent Eileen Shields and looked back at his distinctive quest for the presidency.*

Q. Couldn't you avoid accusations of being the spoiler by getting out of the race now?

A. I am willing to live with the accusations. The political theologians will be engaging in disputations about the meaning of the election—that's how they make their living. I feel secure in my own mind that what I am doing is right.

Q. What have you accomplished?

A. I have fought a good, clean, hard battle to get on the ballot, persevering over odds that people originally thought were impossible. I have rekindled the enthusiasm of young people with the process that was dormant, if not dead. I raised terribly important issues that otherwise would simply have been left on the shelf. The issues will live after me. This country has to wake up and face its problems in a new and a different way. Maybe it will take a year, maybe it will take longer, but others will think back on what I said and what I did and be heartened and encouraged to do the same thing.

Q. But if you can't win, why fight on?

A. I am not writing my political obituary on the first of October with five weeks to go. But all of us have pride and self-esteem. We have to be good at what we are doing. One of the things that mean a great deal to me is that all those people come up to me and say, "Thank you, John, for giving me a choice." That touches me. I am sufficiently emotional that I carry away a feeling of commitment to those people. It is not one that I would lightly abandon.

Q. Is this a matter of personal ego?

A. No, I am a maverick with a cause: the whole philosophy of a new realism. The cause is more important than the individual. If it were just a matter of satisfying some personal ambition, I would surely have given up the fight a long time ago.

Q. You really still think that you can win?

A. Don't ask me how. Don't ask me why. I am not that wise. But the potential is there. I will try. I will try.

Q. Why not start now to think about the '84 election?

Anderson paused. He began to smile. He turned to Correspondent Shields and said: "And she noted that there was a smile. Give me at least until the fifth of November."

Organized by conservative evangelicals, a crowd of some 200,000 gathered last April for a "Washington for Jesus" rally in the capital.

Nation

Politics from the Pulpit

Fundamentalists take aim at Carter and liberals nationwide

CAMPAIGN 80

Classes were canceled at Liberty Baptist College in Lynchburg, Va. Students were bused in from Lynchburg Christian Academy to help fill the 8,000 seats. Excitement built as the hour neared for the featured speaker to appear. "Here he comes, ah!" cried one young woman as the hero stepped onto the stage. Billy Graham? Oral Roberts? No, Ronald Reagan.

The Republican candidate's talk at the meeting of the National Religious Broadcasters in Lynchburg was blandly disappointing to many who had been hoping for a fire-and-brimstone sermon. Mindful of the storm he had stirred when he addressed an evangelical Christian audience in August and questioned the theory of evolution, Reagan this time confined himself to platitudes about peace, inflation, separation of church and state —though he did say, when asked about voluntary prayers in public schools, "I don't believe we should ever have expelled God from the classroom."

But the significant fact was that Reagan was there at all. Attending the meeting were the leaders of a new political movement: evangelical-fundamentalist preachers dedicated to herding conservative Christians to the polls in the hope that most of them will vote for Reagan. The strength of that movement is difficult to assess. But in an election expected by both sides to be extremely close, it is one of several factors that just might tip the balance in states like Ohio and Illinois, and it definitely could have an influence in some scattered local races.

If so, the effect would be a striking triumph for a movement that scarcely existed two years ago. In June 1979, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, Reagan's host in Lynchburg, founded Moral Majority. In just 16 months, that organization claims to have signed up 72,000 ministers and 4 million lay members, establishing chapters in all 50 states. It expects to raise $5 million for political proselytizing this year alone.

From the pulpit, through the mails, in leaflets, at mass rallies and on such TV programs as Falwell's *Old-Time Gospel Hour*, which appears on 373 stations, members of Moral Majority and allied groups pound home the same message: the U.S. is in a terrifying moral decline, and Christians have a duty to reverse it by registering and voting for candidates who agree with their moral principles. As enunciated by Falwell and other conservative evangelicals, those principles are remarkably similar to the Republican platform—which in fact Moral Majority had a hand in shaping.

For the most part, Falwell and other leaders of the religious right insist that they do not tell their followers for whom to vote. But they leave no doubt which of the three born-again Christians running for President they prefer. Although Carter considers himself to be an evangelical, he is not deemed conservative enough by Falwell and his associates because he has failed to fight for such matters as a ban on abortion or legalizing prayer in schools. Says Randy Stewart, a Baptist minister in Lexington, Ky., and a member of Moral Majority: "I will talk about the issues in my church. I will recommend issues to the congregation, not candidates. But when I get through, they will know who I am voting for: Ronald Reagan."

How many will follow is one of the most intriguing—and imponderable —questions of the election. Clearly the rightist preachers' potential audience is vast. Estimates vary widely, mostly according to differing definitions of who should be considered to be an evangelical. Pollster George Gallup uses a three-part definition: someone who 1) describes himself or herself as "born again"; 2) regards the Bible as the literal word of God; 3) encourages others to believe in Christ. On that basis, Gallup calculates 30 million Americans of voting age, or 19% of all U.S. adults, are members of the group.

Not all such evangelicals are political conservatives, of course. In fact, a summer Gallup poll found evangelical voters choosing Jimmy Carter over Reagan 52% to 31%. But some analysts contend that is no true measure of the rightists' impact. For one thing, the Gallup poll included blacks, whom Falwell and his allies know they have little chance of influencing. Their efforts are directed not so much to converting Carter partisans as to politicizing the huge number of evangelicals—45% by Falwell's estimate—who usually do not vote at all. Falwell claims that in the past year ministers galvanized by Moral Majority have registered 3 million new voters. The Reagan camp puts the figure closer to 2 million, but even that could be significant in a close election.

Reagan clearly believes that the rise of the evangelical right will improve his chances of cracking Carter's hold on the South and winning some key Midwestern states. To help court votes, Reagan has re-

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Introducing the totally new Lynx from Lincoln-Mercury. Lynx has the highest gas mileage label of any front-wheel-drive car made in America. These are better gas mileage ratings than Honda Accord, Toyota Celica or Volkswagen Rabbit. Better than 84 other models. But if you think that exceptional fuel efficiency means that Lynx is some cramped little econobox, read on. And be surprised.

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*30 EPA EST. MPG, 44 EST. HWY. Excludes units with power steering or A/C. Use these numbers for comparison: diesels, other Ford products and Cal. where ratings are lower.

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Comfort is why Lynx gives you a special inner world. With deep-padded front seats that have their own coil suspension system. A "soft-feel" padded instrument panel with "soft-glow" lights. Over 53 square feet of plush carpeting. Padded contoured armrests. Stalk-mounted controls. A flip-fold rear seat. More than 55 standard features in all. Plus a vast array of options including a new low-weight, high-efficiency air-conditioning system.

But physical comfort is one thing. And psychological comfort, another. That's why Lynx also gives you a world of things for your peace of mind.

Just turn the page. And you'll see what we mean.

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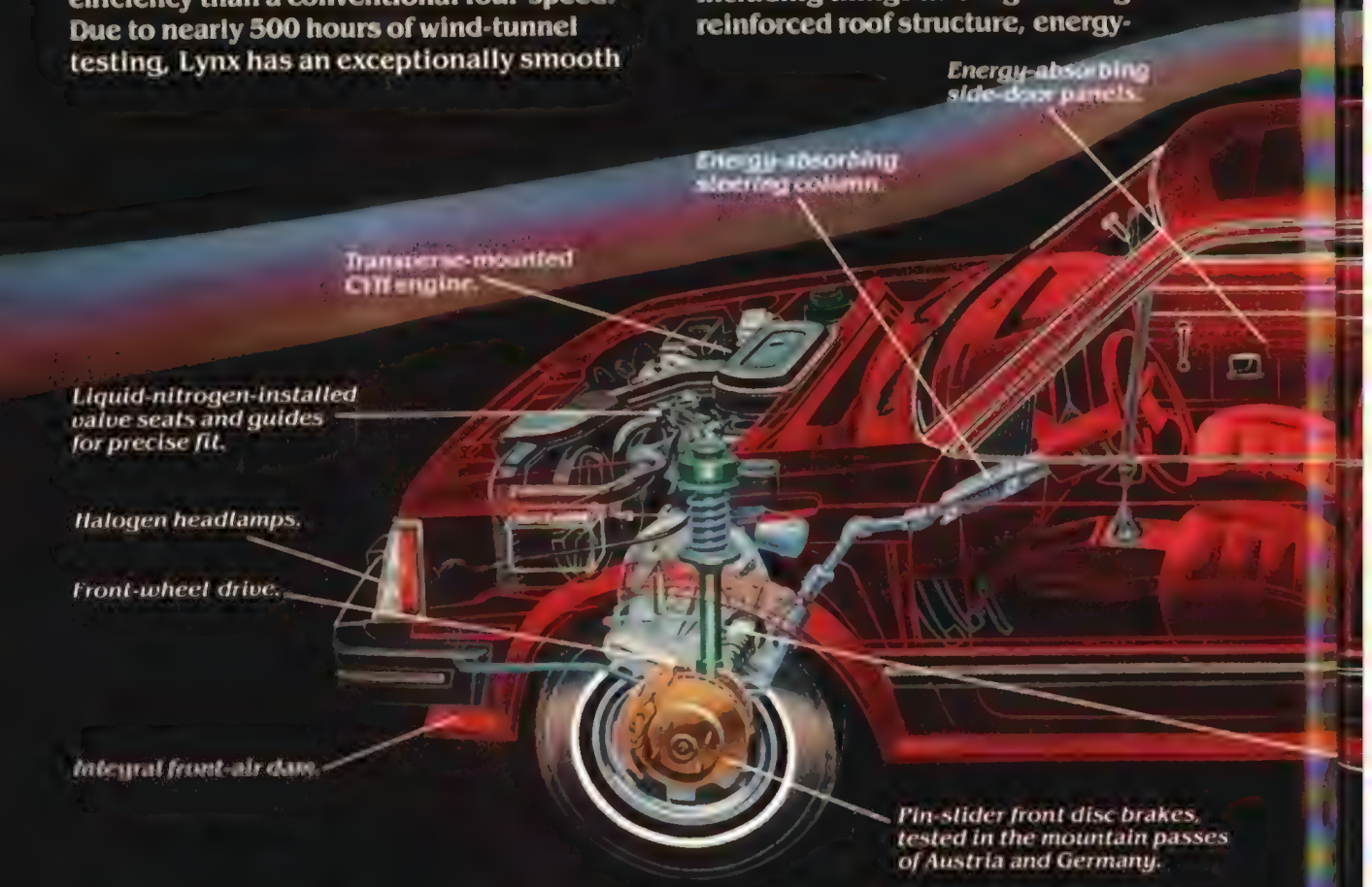
Lynx is the first American-built compact car with four-wheel fully independent suspension. For precise handling. And a smooth ride. Lynx has a completely new wide-ratio four-speed manual overdrive transmission for better highway fuel efficiency than a conventional four-speed. Due to nearly 500 hours of wind-tunnel testing, Lynx has an exceptionally smooth aerodynamic shape. With its low 0.40* drag coefficient, Lynx "slices" through the wind like the proverbial knife through butter.

Lynx gives you Ford Motor Company Lifeguard Design Safety Features. Including things like high-strength reinforced roof structure, energy-



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*Coefficient of drag based on European measurement system.

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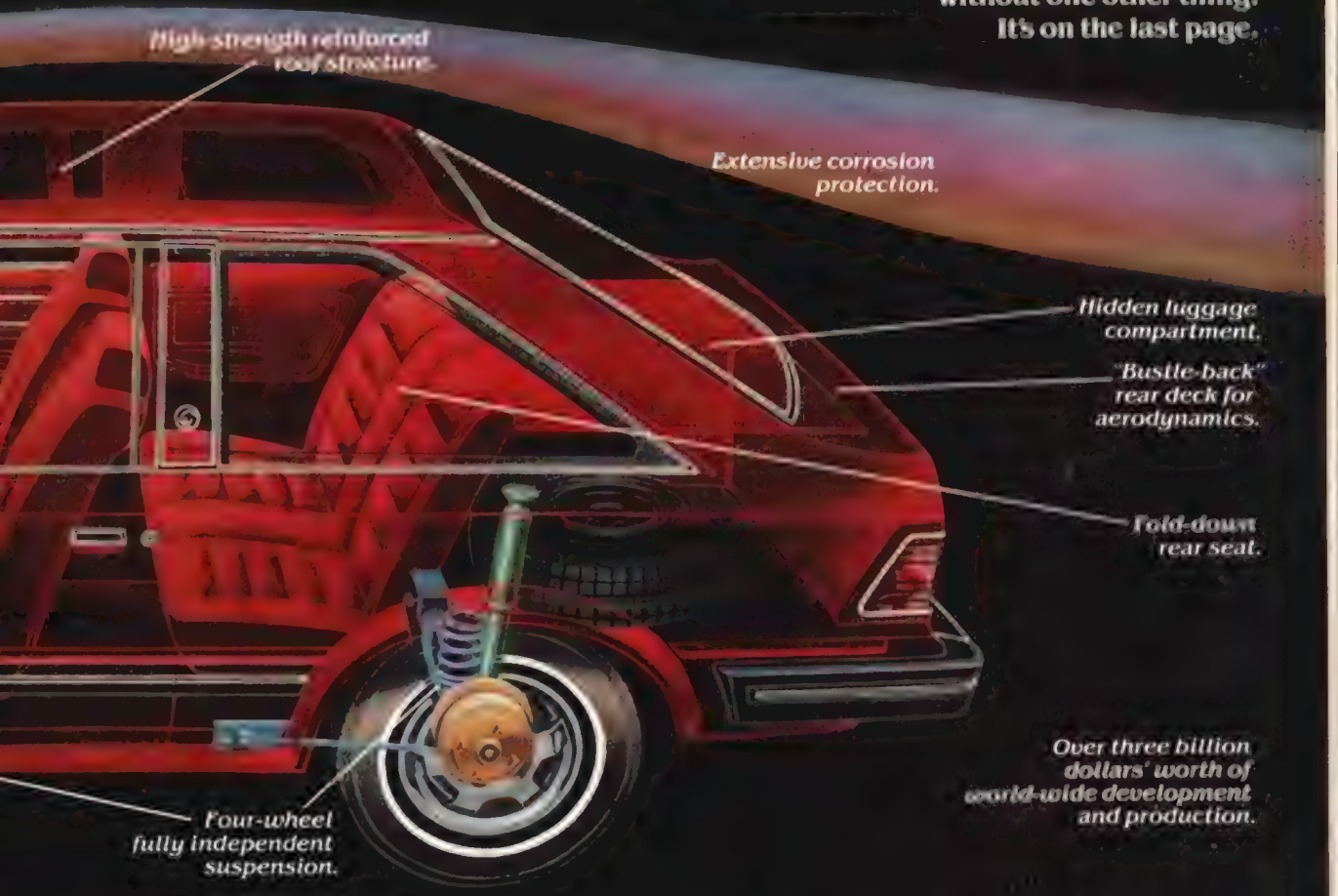
IOOTHLY

absorbing steering column, energy-absorbing side-door panels, and more. Lynx is the first American-built compact car with a Compound Valve Hemispherical Head Engine. This 1.6 liter four-cylinder engine has computer-matched "swirl-effect" pistons for optimum combustion. Plus an aluminum "cross-flow" cylinder head and two-venturi Holley-Weber-designed carburetor for optimum fuel efficiency. But even a car as complete as Lynx wouldn't be complete without one other thing. It's on the last page.



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cruited Robert Billings, one of the organizers of Moral Majority, to be a campaign aide and envoy to Christian churchmen. Billings believes that the right-wing evangelical vote could be decisive in six states: Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Idaho and South Dakota. Says Billings: "We won't win them all, but we won't lose them all either."

Carter, in contrast, contends that the conservative evangelical vote is overrated and is making no attempt to woo it. Explains his pollster, Pat Caddell: "Americans basically don't like mixing politics and religion, even if it's their own religion." Nonetheless, Caddell somewhat contradictorily concedes that the rise of a militantly political religious right "is an important movement, far more probably than it's purported to be." It worries some of the President's state leaders. Carter won Ohio in 1976 partly because of a heavy evangelical vote, but the rightists are now organizing. Says Jerry Austin, Carter's Ohio coordinator: "They're out there. How many I don't know. They have no track record."

Independent John Anderson has gone out of his way to defy the Christian right. He met last week with a delegation from the National Religious Broadcasters to denounce "the political marriage of the so-called Moral Majority and the New Right" as "a union which seeks to inject unbending rigidity and intolerance into church pew and polling booth alike." Said Anderson: "I don't think it is the province of the church to tell people how they should vote."

Only a few years ago many of his listeners probably would have agreed. Religious pronouncements on American political issues go back to the founding of the colonies. In the 1960s, many clergymen lobbied for civil rights laws and against the Viet Nam War, but they were mainly liberals. With some notable exceptions—Prohibition was the most conspicuous—religious conservatives have shunned politics, believing that the way to create a moral society was to evangelize individuals.

That view was changed by three causes. Such trends as the legalization of abortion, the spread of pornography and agitation for homosexual rights convinced many evangelicals that, in Falwell's words, "a minority of secular humanists and amoralists are running this country and taking it straight to hell." Carter's "failings," in their eyes, deepened their despair. The last straw for many evangelicals was a 1978 attempt by the Internal Revenue Service to take away the tax-exempt status of private schools suspected of practicing racial discrimination.

Fervent evangelicals saw the move as an assault on one of their last bastions: the Bible schools they had established to shield their young from an ungodly environment (most of the schools are predominantly white). Congress forbade the IRS to carry out its plan, but in the eyes of conservative evangelicals the battle lines had been drawn. Says Billings: "The IRS ignited the dynamite that had been lying around for years."

Since then, the evangelical right has not so much risen as erupted. In addition to Moral Majority, two other major organizations have sprung into action. The Religious Roundtable, founded by Ed McAteer, a onetime toothpaste salesman in the Bible Belt, concentrates on holding briefings to teach ministers and lay evangelicals how to get out the conservative vote. Christian Voice, led by the Rev. Richard Zone, campaigns openly for and against specific candidates, which it can do because, unlike the other groups, it does not claim a tax exemption.

ARTHUR CAMERA'S

Falwell preaching at his church in Lynchburg, Va.
"Most of our critics are hypocritical."

All the groups work closely together: their leaders gather every other Thursday over coffee in Washington to plan strategy with such conservative political groups as the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and the Conservative Caucus. Christian Voice has compiled a list, widely circulated by Moral Majority and Roundtable as well, of how Senators and Congressmen voted in 1979 on 14 key moral issues. It praises votes not only for school prayer but for the Kemp-Roth bill to cut income tax rates 30%; condemns votes favoring not only abortion but the Equal Rights Amendment. The rightists claim to find religious grounds for all these stands. Says Zone: "We can talk about a balanced budget as a moral issue. The Bible says you should not live in debt."

Whatever their impact on the presidential race, the evangelical conservatives already have demonstrated clout in some local contests. In Alaska, members of Moral Majority this summer took over the entire state delegation to the Republican Convention. In Alabama last month, Representative John Buchanan lost his seat in Congress; though he is a Baptist minister, his liberal views on women's rights aroused the wrath of Moral Majority, which turned out a huge Republican primary vote against him. Says Buchanan: "They beat my brains out with Christian love."

Whether such successes can be repeated in the more important state races is in some doubt. In Iowa, state groups allied with Moral Majority and Christian Voice are going all-out to defeat liberal Democratic Senator John Culver. Declares Christian Voice Strategist Colonel Doner: "John Culver is part of the crowd which made legal the killing of babies, made the streets safe for criminals and rapists and kicked God out of our schools."

But polls indicate a backlash gathering against such attacks, and Culver is stimulating it by doing some loud Bible-thumping of his own. He ridicules the Christian Voice list of issues as a warped test of morality, pointing out that Florida Congressman Richard Kelly scored 100%—before being indicted for allegedly taking ABSCAM bribes. The list, thunders Culver, says nothing about such Christian concerns as helping the poor, hungry and sick.

Less partisan critics of the political preachers make similar points. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, head of the American Jewish Committee, charges that the conservative evangelicals are trying to impose a "religious test" on public officials, which is forbidden by Article VI of the Constitution. The Catholic Jesuit weekly *America* claims that the right-wing evangelicals are preaching "moral fascism."

In rebuttal Falwell hotly maintains that "most of our critics are hypocritical. Nobody ever criticized Martin Luther King when he was using the churches for political activity. No one has ever criticized the National Council of Churches and its leaders for 50 years of active political involvement. What bothers our critics is that we don't agree with them."

The argument will not end with this year's elections. Win or lose with Reagan, the evangelicals are mapping plans to expand their movement and make it a permanent and influential part of the political scene. Already some are talking about organizing for the congressional elections of 1982. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Anne Constable/Lynchburg and Simmons Fentress/Washington*

The Senate: Bitter Contests Between Oldtimers

Senate candidates flay each other in Illinois. Longtime enemies square off in New Hampshire. A challenger tries to pressure an aging Maryland Congressman into making a mistake. Some Senate and House races have a nasty, name-calling quality that makes the mostly clean-cut ideological contest in the House district centering on Eugene, Ore., all the more refreshing.

A Fox at the Chicken Coop?

"If he whacks, I'll thump," vowed Democrat Alan Dixon early in his race against Republican Dave O'Neal for the Illinois Senate seat being vacated by Adlai Stevenson III, who is retiring. So far, Dixon has kept his word, and the contest has turned into a name-calling slugfest.

Dixon, 53, a hearty, backslapping professional politician, was first elected a state representative at age 22 and has since served as state senator, state treasurer and now secretary of state. All together he has won 14 primaries and 13 general elections. Dixon, who calls himself a centrist, supports the Equal Rights Amendment, which is stalled three states short of final approval, but opposes extending the deadline for ratification beyond June 30, 1982. He backs SALT II but with substantial reservations.

O'Neal, 43, a 220-lb. ex-Marine with a black belt in karate, has no qualms about taking on Dixon. Says O'Neal: "I've always accomplished what I've set out to do —running for office or becoming a good bowler." Ten years ago, when he was a pharmacist in rural Belleville, he decided to run for sheriff when a deputy took two days to answer a complaint by O'Neal's wife about a prowler. O'Neal won handily, fired the deputy and soon made a name for himself by packing two pistols on drug busts. O'Neal was elected Lieutenant Governor in Governor Jim Thompson's 1976 landslide. A Reagan Republican, O'Neal opposes the ERA, abortion and SALT II and favors the Kemp-Roth proposal to cut federal income tax rates by 30% over three years.

To win, O'Neal figures that he must campaign aggressively to increase his name recognition across the state (70% in a poll, *vs.* 98% for Dixon). In a debate, O'Neal accused Dixon of "shaking down" state employees for more than $300,000 in contributions and spending $1.1 million "like a drunken sailor" during the primary campaign. Electing Dixon to the Senate, said O'Neal, would be like "sending a fox to guard the chicken coop."

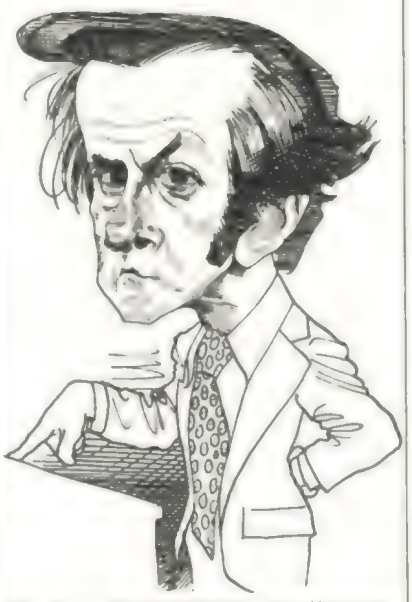
Dixon in turn has accused O'Neal of violating the spirit of the federal election laws by accepting $449,000 in "laundered" funds from the Republican Senate Committee, by which Dixon meant that the money cannot be traced to its original source. Actually, the candidates' total campaign war chests are almost the same: $2.35 million for Dixon and $2 million for O'Neal. Although O'Neal has closed the gap with his opponent in the polls, from 18 points in June to 12 points by mid-September, most bets in Illinois are still on the thumper. ■

Illinois' Dixon is a hearty backslapper

Tiger! Tiger! Burning Bright

They have been bitter political and personal enemies for years. In 1974, during a dispute over the results of Democrat John Durkin's first Senate race in New Hampshire, Republican Attorney General Warren Rudman, as a member of the state Ballot Commission, ruled against him. Durkin won the subsequent rematch handily. Then President Ford in 1976 tried to name Rudman chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Senate never took up the nomination; despite denials from Durkin, who was a member of the Senate Commerce Committee, New Hampshire Republicans are convinced that he blackballed the appointee. Now Durkin, 44, and Rudman, 50, have squared off again, this time over Durkin's Senate seat. Predicts the incumbent: "It will be quite a fight. It'll go the length of the bar and out into the street."

Neither candidate is a strict party ideologue. Reversing the usual Democrat-Republican alignment, Durkin strongly backs a proposed constitutional amendment to ban abortion, while Rudman opposes it. More typically for a Democrat, Durkin opposes oil-price deregulation and at every opportunity attacks the oil companies (an especially popular target in chilly New Hampshire, which pays more for its imported heating oil than most other states). Rudman supports deregulation but urges that the windfall-profits tax on oil companies be used to buy home heating oil for the poor.



New Hampshire's Durkin is blunt and brusque

The candidates' sharpest disputes involve money. Rudman attacks Durkin as the candidate of organized labor because Durkin, in his first campaign, received $100,000 from out-of-state labor unions; this year, he has again collected $100,000 from them. By contrast, Rudman has refused to accept donations from non–New Hampshire political-action committees. The strategy so confused national Republicans that they considered not sending him the $75,000 earmarked for his campaign until he made it clear that he would accept the money. Durkin promptly called him "Waffling Warren."

Partly because money has become an issue, the race is probably the least costly Senate contest in the country. Each candidate plans to spend only about $350,000. Thus the outcome may turn largely on the candidates' campaign styles. Rudman is jovial and smooth, a "pussycat," as one campaign follower says. By contrast, Durkin is blunt and brusque; even Wife Pat concedes that "John isn't the smoothest character in town." But this is no handicap in New Hampshire, where voters prefer their politicians to be flinty. ■

Drawings for TIME by David Levine

The House: Strong Challenges from Newcomers

Ships That Pass in the Night

Tall, white-haired and earnest, Clarence Long, 71, has won nine elections to Congress from suburban Baltimore by following a simple formula: ignore his opponent and pay close attention to his constituents, whom he tends every weekend from a mobile office parked outside libraries, post offices or schools.

Lately, however, the Democrat has also taken to embarrassing many of his constituents. For example, at a NAACP meeting in Baltimore this year, Long, who has a progressive record on civil rights, started rambling on about American blacks being "genetically superior . . . because Southern white blood flows in every black today." All this might not have got Long into trouble if he were not opposed this year by an aggressive Republican, who has a more telling way with words.

Blunt-mannered Helen Delich Bentley, 56, wife of an antiques dealer, covered the waterfront for 16 years as a reporter for the Baltimore *Sun*. Her salty language and dukes-up style endeared her to dock workers. She once punched a stevedore in a bar when he compared her nose to a ski jump. Her expletives-undeleted report from the tanker *Manhattan*, during its 1969 voyage through the Northwest Passage, caused her to be banned from using the ship's radio.

In 1969 President Nixon named her to head the Federal Maritime Commission, where she coupled Agnewesque assaults on reporters ("fall guys for the misfits and malcontents of our society") with a flag-waving defense of American shipping lines. Foreign shippers protested her lack of impartiality, and President Ford decided not to reappoint her in 1975.

Bentley is anxious for a confrontation

In one of her campaign ads, a hard-hatted stevedore bellows: "Give 'em hell, Helen." But the modestly budgeted race (neither is expected to spend more than $200,000) goes beyond personalities. Long for many years has blocked proposals to dredge Baltimore harbor because he objected to the dumping of the polluted muck around two uninhabited islands in his district. The islands are favorite anchorages for Chesapeake Bay boaters and crab fishermen, who are anxious to keep the waters clean. But Bentley, who has dubbed herself "the Fighting Lady" after the World War II aircraft carrier *Yorktown*, insists that the harbor must be deepened to protect jobs in the Baltimore area.

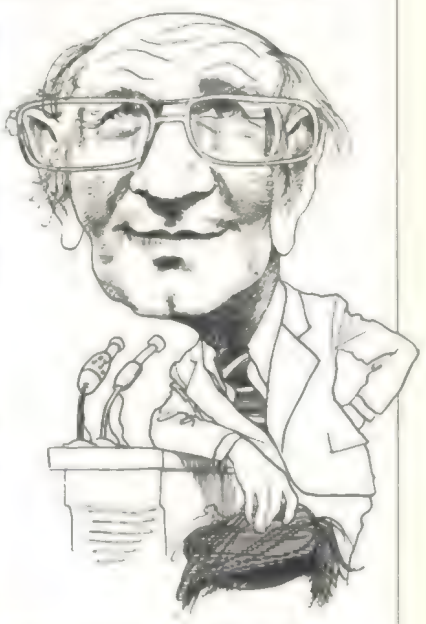
Thus far, Long has ignored his opponent, even when she called him "insensitive and irresponsible." When he spoke last week to workers at a sewage treatment plant, she showed up for a confrontation, but he drove off without even exchanging greetings. Says the Fighting Lady: "His jaw dropped a foot. He comes apart when pressure is put on him, and that's just what I aim to do." ■

Whose Woods These Are

He prides himself on being a political maverick in the mold of his hero, the late Senator Wayne Morse. But Democratic Congressman James Weaver, 53, has always kept in step with one part of his southwestern Oregon constituency: the liberal college town of Eugene (pop. 103,500). In three terms, he has built a reputation as a friend of the environment, having sponsored the 1978 Endangered American Wilderness Act, which increased the acreage of protected lands like the 168,000-acre Kalmiopsis area east of Eugene. He is a foe of nuclear power and of the use of herbicides in the Northwest's evergreen forests.

But what is laudable in Eugene is anathema to the lumbermen in the rest of the district. Says Weaver: "My problem is that my district's Establishment —it all revolves around the timber industry—opposes me." With help from lumber companies, utilities and the National Republican Congressional Committee, Mike Fitzgerald, 47, a garrulous, former public relations man from San Diego, has Weaver running like a Roosevelt elk, a species that he has fought to conserve. They agree only in their opposition to gun controls.

On other issues, the race is a clear-cut ideological confrontation. Fitzgerald has raised $250,000 so far (much of it from wood-products companies) to Weaver's $55,000 (largely from environmental groups).



Weaver is running like a Roosevelt elk

Stocky, balding Fitzgerald, who owns a 1,100-acre sheep ranch, made his mark politically as a county commissioner when he fought state controls on land development and timber production. Says he: "Weaver is an environmental perfectionist. Environmental perfection is something we can't afford." Weaver, a former builder and developer, replies that his environmental policies are in the area's best interest. Says he: "We can't afford to cut our timber faster, because if we do, we won't have any left. My constituents strongly support land-use planning. They don't want to Californicate Oregon."

To fell Weaver, Fitzgerald has to cut at his base support among moderate voters in Eugene. So Fitzgerald has attacked Weaver for co-sponsoring proposed federal legislation in 1979 that would prohibit discrimination against homosexuals in jobs and housing. Voters in Eugene a year earlier vetoed a similar local ordinance 2 to 1. Fitzgerald also faults Weaver for having voted against most major defense appropriation bills during his six years in Congress. Former President Gerald Ford, his Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and conservative retired Army Generals John Singlaub and Daniel Graham are making pilgrimages into the district on Fitzgerald's behalf. Polls show that Weaver still leads, but Fitzgerald has come out of the forest swinging and spending in a way that will ensure that the final outcome should be close. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Consoling Promise of Change

It is doubtful that in the next four weeks a grand array of heretofore undetected leadership talents in Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan will be revealed and illuminated by the campaign. But the promise that keeps America going through this disappointing political exercise is that no matter how the election comes out, the U.S. will get a new Government. That is not an insignificant consolation or benefit.

Vast sections of Carter's Administration are sleepwalking, drifting through time until the decision. Hundreds of people right up to Cabinet level are expecting to be swept out of power no matter what the outcome. Even Carter Campaign Manager Robert Strauss jokes (sort of) that come Nov. 4, his influence will be nil with or without victory. What also is quietly acknowledged is that Carter's Government is in terrible disarray in important areas.

Doubts permeate the Justice Department. Can Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti survive having dissembled in the Billy Carter affair? Politicizing the Pentagon has diminished the standing of Secretary of Defense Harold Brown. In the State Department Edmund Muskie seems worn out after only a few months on the job. Carter's White House crew, led by Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, who did so much to disparage his own Cabinet officers, seems to be ineffective in everything but politics. If Carter were to win and not rebuild his machinery to inject new spirit into his Administration, his second term could fail before it even started.

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

Jody Powell and Hamilton Jordan

It also is a fact of Carter's life that the priorities he initially set, such as overcoming unemployment and reducing armaments at home and abroad, have been overtaken by events. There are serious doubts whether the same men and women recruited to carry out Carter's original ideas can or should be the ones to plan and execute policy that has turned 180°. Carter has said almost nothing about what he will do to reconstitute his fragmented Government in a second term. He may be afraid to discuss the matter, thus admitting his troubles. Or it could be "the October surprise" that all the Republicans now believe Carter will spring in a dramatic late tactic to claim the electoral lead.

Reagan, too, has been remarkably quiet about how he would put together a Government to carry out his promises. At this point, one of the best hopes he has for dispelling deep doubts about his own knowledge and skill would be to cite a lustrous pool of talent from which he would draw the people for his Administration. It has not really worked out that way. Task forces are quietly shaping ideas for the transition and the programs that will follow should Reagan win. But the assault force that, in a change in Government, would descend on Washington and take command remains largely unknown. The Reagan people have nearly 250 persons on their key advisory committees, the nucleus of a talent bank that the Governor has promised will be in place and running a few days after his Jan. 20 Inauguration if he wins the election. Chief of Staff Edwin Meese, who probably would get a top job in a Reagan Administration, has deliberately kept the formation of this shadow force low-key in order not to detract from the election effort.

That may have to change in the few weeks ahead. It now appears that U.S. voters view Carter as a man who has a commanding grasp of the details of the problems but little idea of what they mean and how to use the Government machinery to solve them. Reagan, on the other hand, is viewed as a person with woefully limited knowledge of the issues before him but with good instincts about the directions he should go.

In the end this election could hinge not so much on the candidates themselves as on the national perception of the men and women they would call upon and the kind of Government they would form.

Button Time

The House expels Myers

Ever since throwing out two Confederate members as traitors in 1861, the House of Representatives has taken a tolerant view of rascality in its ranks. Only rarely has the House taken formal notice of a colleague's misdeeds—and then, at worst, it has merely censured the offender verbally or, in a few cases, stripped him of seniority and committee chairmanships. This fraternal forbearance stemmed partly from the Representatives' clubby regard for one another and partly from their belief that in a democracy, voters have the right to be represented by whomever they wish—even a crook. The era of tolerance apparently ended last week.

At issue was the fate of Pennsylvania Congressman Michael ("Ozzie") Myers, 37, who had been captured on FBI video tape accepting $50,000 from an agent posing as the representative of a fictitious Arab sheik. Myers was heard promising in return to sponsor special legislation that would enable the sheik to settle in the U.S. The tapes had been used by the Justice Department to convict Myers in August of bribery in the first of its series of ABSCAM prosecutions involving six Congressmen.* Said Myers at the time of his conviction: "The jury was confused. I may be guilty of being an ass, but I have done nothing criminal."

But the members of the House Ethics Committee, as well as other Representatives who watched the tapes, could find no innocent explanation for what they saw and no reason to delay their vote on Myers until after his appeal of the conviction is completed.

In the four-hour debate before crowded galleries, Ethics Committee Chairman Charles Bennett of Florida urged that Myers be expelled because "the integrity of the House of Representatives is at stake." Argued New York Democrat Jonathan Bingham: "It is immaterial whether or not there has been a final conviction. He was selling his services for a substantial sum of money. Myers has brought shame on himself and on this House . . . To take any lesser action than expulsion would, I'm afraid, be further proof to our disillusioned young people that Congress protects its own and condones influence peddling."

Wearing a funereal black suit and speaking from the well of the chamber, Myers did not deny taking the money. Said he: "I owe this House an apology for my action." But he insisted that accepting the money was "strictly play-acting" because he never intended to do any-

*A U.S. appeals court ruled last week that the ABSCAM tapes introduced in evidence in the Myers case could be copied and broadcast by television stations, but granted time for Myers' attorneys to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

DIFFERENT VOICES OF FREEDOM

The free expression of diverse viewpoints is essential in a democracy.

Gannett preaches that view, and its world of different voices practices it with vigor each day.

In California this year, the seven daily newspapers which are members of the Gannett Group demonstrated their editorial diversity and independence by expressing opposing opinions on several statewide ballot propositions.

On Proposition 4, which dealt with low-rent housing, two newspapers were for it, and four were against it.

Proposition 10, which would set state standards for local rent-control laws, won the editorial endorsement of the Salinas Californian. "We need standards. Investors need protection...Vote yes."

But The Sun in San Bernardino and four other Gannett papers opposed it. 'Local communities should have the right to solve their own problems, make their own mistakes and bail themselves out as they see fit," said The Sun.

Five editors of Gannett newspapers favored amending the state constitution to protect confidentiality of news sources. But the Independent-Journal in Marin County urged the amendment's defeat. "We think the media is adequately protected by present law."

On another proposition, the Stockton Record favored raising taxes on large oil companies as "a big step toward redistributing rising oil profits to the much-needed sector of public transportation." But the Independent-Journal opposed the tax as "just another way to punish the consumer." The Visalia Times-Delta was also opposed noting that the tax might cause large companies to move plants and valuable jobs out of the state.

And a $495-million park and conservation bond issue drew opposition from editors who thought the timing wrong in a recession or, as the Independent-Journal noted, it "clearly is a pork barrel measure and should be defeated."

Editors at the Oakland Tribune swallowed hard at the timing and the scope of the bond proposal, but advised voters to approve it: "If the project is turned down now, who knows how long it will be before another measure can be placed on the ballot and how much the cost of land will have gone up in the meantime."

Each Gannett newspaper forms its own editorial opinions. Nobody tells local editors what to think or say at the Oakland Tribune and Eastbay TODAY, the Independent-Journal in Marin County, the Salinas Californian, The Sun in San Bernardino, the Stockton Record, the Visalia Times-Delta, or at any of the 74 other Gannett daily newspapers around the country.

Each Gannett editor marches to his or her own beat, and these are as different as the pulses of each editor's community. That is why Gannett newspapers, broadcast stations and other media are "A World of Different Voices Where Freedom Speaks."

Gannett believes in the freedom of the people to know, and pursues that freedom in every communications form we are in, whether it is newspapers, television, radio, outdoor advertising, film production, magazine or public opinion research.

That freedom rings throughout Gannett, from Oakland to Olympia, from San Bernardino to San Rafael, from Visalia to the Virgin Islands. It rings in news coverage, in editorial opinions, in community service. Each member serves its own audience in its own way.

GANNETT

A WORLD OF DIFFERENT VOICES
WHERE FREEDOM SPEAKS

Michael Myers

thing in return. He complained: "I was set up from the word go." In one meeting with the sheik's intermediary, Myers said, "I was intoxicated. I was drinking FBI bourbon." Myers, a former longshoreman, contended that he was not used to hard liquor. Turning bitter, he charged that "I was not given a fair trial" by the House, and accused the members of "lynching" him. Protesting that "I know now what it feels like to sit on death row," Myers warned the members that their votes to expel him would have the same effect as "hitting the button if I were strapped into an electric chair." Few legislators were moved. The vote to expel Myers was 376 to 30.

■ ■ ■

In seven years as the Republican Representative from Maryland's Eastern Shore, Robert Bauman, 43, established himself as one of the House's most talented conservatives. A master tactician, he skillfully used demands for points of order, roll calls and other devices to erect parliamentarian roadblocks against Democratic-sponsored legislation. He led the conservatives' rearguard fight against appropriations to carry out the Panama Canal Treaties, pay for poor women's abortions and aid Nicaragua's left-leaning Sandinista regime. Bauman was one of the founders of the influential 30,000-member American Conservative Union and a leader of Ronald Reagan's campaign for President in Maryland.

By all signs, his influence seemed certain to grow in the future. He considered challenging moderate Republican Senator Charles Mathias in this year's primary, then backed off at almost the last minute. But Bauman was expected to run against Democratic Senator Paul Sarbanes in the 1982 election. Then, last week, Bauman's career was severely damaged, if not destroyed. In a Washington court, he pleaded not guilty to a charge of sexual solicitation, from a 16-year-old boy near Capitol Hill. Bauman explained that the incident occurred at a time when he was suffering from "acute alcoholism," for which he promised the court that he would enter a six-month treatment program. When he completes it, the charge will be dropped. Despite the incident, Bauman said he would still run for re-election against Democratic State Representative Roy Dyson. Said Bauman: "I will submit myself to the judgment of the citizens of my district." ■

Robert Bauman

Congress Mostly Passes

It postpones the hard decisions on spending

The Government, said Jimmy Carter, would "come to a screeching halt, and all [federal] salaries stop." Welfare payments would end, and public works projects would be suspended. Some 37.65 million Social Security checks were in the mail, but federal officials suggested that banks might not cash them.

Despite such dire—and wildly overstated—warnings, a recalcitrant Congress last week still postponed the hard decisions on budgets, taxes and deficits until after the elections. Congress did manage, before it adjourned, to pass a "continuing resolution" that will allow the Government to keep operating until Dec. 15, and remove all doubt that those Social Security checks will be cashed. But Congress will have to come back on Nov. 12, for its first postelection session in a presidential-election year since 1948, to have another go at deciding how much the Government can really spend and how big a deficit it can run during the fiscal year that began Oct. 1. Chances are strong that the lame-duck session will not accomplish much. Not until some time after a new Congress is sworn in on Jan. 3, and President Carter or President Reagan is inaugurated on Jan. 20, will some Government departments and agencies know what they can legally spend during the fiscal year that began last week.

The absurd situation arose because Congress, under its own laws, must pass by Sept. 15 a resolution detailing how much the Government can count on taking in through taxes, how much it can spend, and how big a deficit it can figure on running in the new fiscal year. This election year, the Democrats, who control both houses of Congress, could not bring themselves to admit that recession and inflation would push the balanced budget, which they had agreed on proudly in the spring, into deficit by at least $40 billion. Republicans obviously would not help them out of their dilemma. Scoffed Senate Republican Leader Howard Baker of Tennessee: "There's going to be a $60 billion deficit—the $60 billion surprise, I call it. The majority party wants to postpone the evil day. They don't want to belly up to that bar."

At the start of the fiscal year, Congress had not approved a single one of 13 regular appropriations bills. The House did say that the Defense Department could spend $157 billion before Sept. 30, 1981, an increase of $19 billion that both Democrats and Republicans regard as popular with most voters, but the Senate did not even get around to taking up that measure.

Bureaucrats, however, have watched the politicians squabble on Capitol Hill in the past, and they were unperturbed. The Government went on functioning, and twelve hours into the new fiscal year Congress finally passed the resolution that permits federal agencies to spend money at the fiscal 1980 rate until Dec. 15.

How much federal departments and agencies can spend after Dec. 15 will depend on the lame-duck session of Congress; and though it likely will pass some appropriations bills, it probably will have to put through another continuing resolution to enable much of the Government to function. The session will be attended by some 40 Senators and Representatives who are retiring, plus many others who will have been defeated for re-election. If Carter is re-elected, Congress will stall until he can shape his plans for a second term. If Reagan wins, Congress will also stall, until the new President gets his Administration organized and determines his budget strategy.

"Look out—Here they come!"

The most serious consequence could be the breakdown of the streamlined budget process that House and Senate leaders proudly enacted only six years ago. This would mean a return to the days when Congress voted appropriations for specific departments and agencies and passed tax bills with little regard for the overall consequences to the federal deficit and U.S. economy. Indeed, some Senators and Representatives would not be sorry to see that happen. They resent the authority that the budget committees have acquired—in theory, at least. But as last week's performance showed, the House and Senate are far from getting their budget houses in order. ■

Revive your taste!

Newport Lights

Newport pleasure comes to low-tar menthols

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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

10 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report January 1980.

OPEC boosts prices again

There was a cold wind from Caracas this week as the thirteen OPEC countries met there to set oil prices for 1980 at a staggering 33% above current rates, extinguishing any fond hopes for a return to normality in the world's finances in the coming [illegible] economists note, will effectively

More power failures freeze up 5,000 homes

What can [illegible]
The best advice remains: stay warm, [illegible]

Violent weather conditions, including high winds and ice storms last Thursday have led to thousands of dollars in damage as well as considerable hardship for residents of the

gency Room reports admission of seventeen power outage victims, twelve suffering from exposure, two out-patients dependent on electrically run life-supporting systems and three who suffered household accidents in the dark. There were no fatalities directly attributable to the emergency.

The long delays in repair service were due, according to FTG & E spokesmen, to cut-backs in line [illegible] due to spiraling costs this year. [illegible] deficit can only be met [illegible] service [illegible] down [illegible] ing some 5,0[illegible] or light for u[illegible] freezing tem[illegible] Cracked pip[illegible] ng, contri[illegible] dollar loss[illegible] Five To[illegible] gency Ro[illegible] seventeen [illegible] twelve suf[illegible] out-patie[illegible] cally run [illegible] and thre[illegible] accident[illegible] fatalitie[illegible] emergen[illegible] The [illegible] were

Solar To The Rescue One of These Years

Solar cells are here today but they're probably decades away from being a truly cost-effective alternative home heating source.

Photovoltaics, the conversion of sunlight to electric power, has a few problems to work out to meet the President's goal of providing 1% of the nation's energy by the year 2,000, not the least of [illegible] utility bills when the great day

WOOD SOARS TO $150 A CORD

If you can't cut it yourself, you may be outfoxing yourself in switching to wood as a primary fu[illegible] winter, cost comparisons show [illegible] down, as is [illegible]

Cold Wave Hits Northeast

A sudden drop in temperature, after unusually mild weather throughout the Northeast so far this winter, will put the added preparations many have taken to a severe test. Icy winds and scattered snow flurries swept into the region from Central Canada yesterday, as the low pressure area which had prevented seasonable temperatures heretofore drifted into the Atlantic.

Although those hardest hit by this turn of events will be apartment dwellers and others with no recourse for increasing the warmth of their homes, many suburbanites have also noted that measures taken to keep [illegible] or increase efficiency of fireplaces, etc. had [illegible] the bone-shaking cold that somehow greet them this morning. [illegible] said

Natural Gas Supplies Running Dangerously Low

Efforts to augment and conserve supplies of natural gas in this state may be an instance of too little and too late, as demands grow and delays on the development of new sources of supply continue, spokesmen within the industry warn.

For instance, a proposed pipeline from Alaska's North Slope, to stretch 4,800 miles to San Francisco and Chicago intended to reduce oil imports by as much as 300 [illegible] per year, has been waiting [illegible] for federal [illegible]

If home heating costs have got you down...

Now there's a way to stay warm and cozy and actually cut your fuel bills in times like these.

Get yourself a Kero-Sun™ Portable Heater.

Comparing this heater to old-fashioned kerosene heaters is like comparing today's jet airplane engines to the prop engines of World War II.

This heater is 99.9% fuel-efficient. Therefore, it needs no chimney. It delivers all that heat directly to you and your family.

So when you turn your thermostat down and use a Kero-Sun Portable Heater to heat just the room your family is in, you get some very significant savings.

How come? The average gas or oil burner is usually no more than 45% to 65% efficient in delivering heat. Because it *has* a chimney, and also ducts or pipes.

This really means that every time you pay a $100 gas or oil bill this winter, you could be wasting maybe half of your money.

How cheap is a Kero-Sun Portable Heater to operate? The UL-listed Omni 105™ shown here can keep an 18′×37′ room really warm for a few cents an hour.

There are 9 models to choose from to meet every heating need.

It's easy to operate.

To light a Kero-Sun Portable Heater, you simply push a lever. In a matter of minutes, your whole room will be filled with a comforting warmth.

About safety.

Because a Kero-Sun Portable Heater is clean-burning, there's no smoke or odor during operation.

Extensive tests have shown that these heaters meet established safety standards for unvented appliances that deliver heat.

In terms of ventilation, you need exercise no more caution than you would with a gas range, woodstove or fireplace.

If a Kero-Sun Portable Heater is ever jarred, there's an automatic shut-off device. It snuffs the flame out. Instantly.

Filling and fuel.

It takes only minutes to fill with a neat little siphon pump that comes with every heater. As to getting kerosene, our dealers can either supply you with all you need or direct you to the supplier nearest your home.

a Kero-Sun™ Portable Heater will cheer you up.

Where to use your Kero-Sun Portable Heater.

You'll make the most dramatic impact on your fuel bills using it wherever your family usually gathers—the living room or den—and turning the thermostat low in the rest of the house.

Also, they're great to use year-round whenever there's a chill in the air, and keep the furnace turned off.

A Kero-Sun Portable Heater is ideal for a workshop, basement, garage or glassed-in porch. And people are finding new recreational and commercial uses for these heaters all the time.

In a power failure, you'll stay comfortable with a Kero-Sun Portable Heater. And perhaps save hundreds of dollars that a bad freeze-up can cost you.

Buy now, save now.

There's cold weather ahead. Kero-Sun Portable Heaters are surprisingly inexpensive, when you consider the fuel savings they make possible. And the sooner you buy one, the more you'll save.

Our dealers (listed on the following page) have an ample supply right now. So get a demonstration today. And give yourself some *good* news in home heating for a change. Kero-Sun, Inc., Kent, CT 06757.

KERO-SUN™

The good news in home heating.

See the Kero-Sun® Portable Heaters at these dealers:

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Belleville
Loehr Lawn Mower
Service
500 N. High St

Bensenville
Denna Lawn & Sport
560 N. York Rd.

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Garden Equipment
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For Chicago Area dealers
contact Alternative Energy
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6705 W. Archer Ave.
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4355 W. 63rd St

Crystal Lake
Flowerwood, Inc.
Rt. 14 & 176

De Kalb
De Kalb Lawn & Garden
217 No. 7th St

Elgin
Wilb's Fix-It, Inc
45 S. Maple St.

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Grayslake Feed Sales
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Lake Forest
O'Neil True Value
256 Westminster Ave.

Lake Zurich
Lake Cook Farm
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Schaumburg, Arlington Hgts.

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McHenry
George P Freund
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T & J Appliance
14446 So. Pulaski

Mundelein
Ace Hardware
609 E. Hawley St.

Northbrook
Dehne Lawn & Garden
Equipment
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Park Forest
Tabernacle Hardware
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South Chicago
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Suburban Garden Center
1033 E. 162nd

Vauconda
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Haigs Mower Service
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Dexter
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Flatrock
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405 W. Clarkston

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Lincoln Village
Hardware
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Midland
Brown Lumber Inc.
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Piper's Hardware
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Foote Gravely Tractor
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Garden Center
2015 Auburn Rd.
Weingartz Supply
Company
46061 Van Dyke

Warren
Bid's Service Inc.
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Young's Garden Mart
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Washington
Washington Mower
58106 Delmar

Waterford
Waterford Fuel & Supply
3943 Airport Rd

Wayne
Northside True Value Hardware
Company
2912 Wayne Rd

Westland
Wayne Lawn & Garden
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Ypsilanti
Ypsilanti Farm Bureau
4 West Forest

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Equipment Inc.
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Energy Alternatives
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Lampert's Home Center
14555 Galaxie Ave.

Austin
The Firebox
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Cannon Falls
Stoves n' Stuff
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Lumberjack Shack
16345 Back Hill Rd

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Lewiston Hardware Supply

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Seed Exchange

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Nicollet OK Hardware
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Seed Exchange
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Shoop Our Own
Hardware
5007 34th Ave. So
Woodland Stoves
1821 Washington Ave. So

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Mound ACE Hardware
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St. Paul
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Plumbery
699 Arcade St
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408 So. Snelling
Fireside Center
883 Front Ave
Grand Floor
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Guardian Furniture
302 University Ave
Kath Brothers Oil Co
3096 No. Rice St

Shakopee
Viereck Fireplace
Sales, Inc
Rt. 1

South St. Paul
Southview OK Hardware
12th & Southview

Stephen
Novacki Oil Co

Victoria
Minnesota Victoria
Oil Co
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Watertown
Watertown Co-op

Wayzata
Wayzata Lawn Mower Shop
253 East Lake St

West St. Paul
Langula Hardware, Inc.
919 So. Robert St.

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Powell Trailer
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1555 No. Hwy. 67

St. Charles
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11118 Olive St. Road
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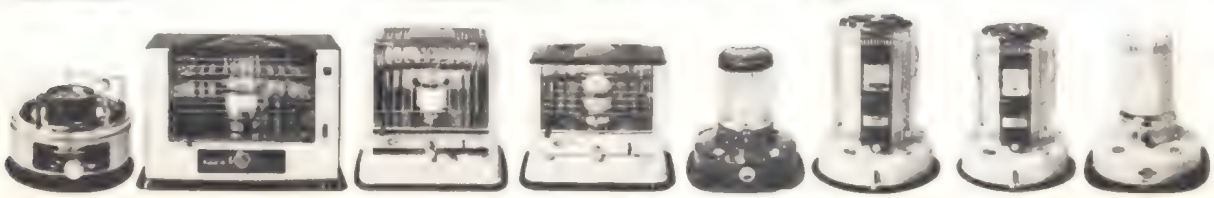
KERO-SUN

The good news in home heating.



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The Cuban Refugees Move On

To Fort Chaffee, with little hope of leaving soon

Shortly after dawn one day last week city workers began pulling down the olive-drab tents under elevated Interstate 95 in downtown Miami. The campsite had temporarily been home to a total of 4,000 Cuban refugees. But Campamento del Río (River Camp) also had been an eyesore and health menace because of its exposed electrical wiring, plugged storm drains, filthy toilets and tainted food. By sunset, the last tent was down, and the remaining 750 residents had been taken away by bus. Left behind were a dozen Spanish names spray-painted on the thick concrete highway supports.

At Fort McCoy, Wis., scene of repeated fights and homosexual rapes among some of the toughest refugees from Cuba, 120 young men packed their meager possessions in plastic garbage bags, boarded Greyhound buses, and then sat for 4½ hours while repairs were made to their chartered Boeing 737—the only hitch in the evacuation of Fort McCoy. By week's end nearly all 3,000 refugees were gone. Meanwhile, at Indiantown Gap Military Reservation in Pennsylvania, about 2,500 Cubans were loading their belongings into cardboard cartons for a similar journey this week.

Most of the Cubans had a common destination: Fort Chaffee, Ark., where the Carter Administration has decided to consolidate some 10,000 refugees who arrived during the 159-day boatlift and have not yet been settled. The boatlift ended two weeks ago, when Cuban President Fidel Castro closed the port of Mariel. Altogether, 125,262 Cuban men, women and children fled to the U.S. during the boatlift. Most of them quickly began new lives with the help of relatives already in the U.S. and private sponsors. The remainder are chiefly young men with little English or job skills—and little prospect for leaving Fort Chaffee any time soon. Said Art Brill, an official of the State Department's Cuban-Haitian Task Force: "They are beyond the cuddly age, so to speak."

Indeed, as they arrived at the Army base, which is now surrounded by 11-ft. chain-link fences topped by 2-ft. coils of razor-sharp barbed wire, they were told that each would soon receive winter clothing from the Red Cross: a quilted jacket, leather shoes with crepe soles, two plaid flannel shirts, two pairs of thick jeans, gloves and a brightly colored stocking cap. They also found the authorities determined to maintain tight discipline with the help of 1,000 Army guards and 350 civilian officers, most of them from the U.S. Park Police. "El Bulevar," the black market where Cubans gambled and traded clothes and cigarettes all summer, has been shut down. The worst troublemakers have been confined to heavily guarded areas to prevent them from molesting other refugees or escaping.

At the insistence of Arkansas Governor Billy Clinton, the State Department's Cuban-Haitian Task Force will not send more than 10,000 refugees to Fort Chaffee. Any overflow from the other camps is supposed to be sent to Puerto Rico, where 250 Navy Seabees last week were constructing shelters for up to 5,000 refugees at Fort Allen, an old military base 40 miles southwest of San Juan. Puerto Rico has sued to stop the transfer, arguing that Fort Allen has inadequate sewage and water purification plants and antiquated electrical systems.

Their olive-drab tents dismantled, Cuban refugees wait for buses in Miami

Says a State Department official: "They are beyond the cuddly age, so to speak."

Puerto Rican officials fear that the Cubans may become as big a headache for them as they were for Miami's Dade County, where many schools may have to hold double sessions to accommodate the children of refugees who settled in the county. Jackson Memorial, the county's only public hospital, is so overcrowded that its maternity ward has put 20 new mothers on stretchers in the halls. Police report that chiefly because of the refugees, the crime rate in Miami's Little Havana has soared: robbery was up 775% and assault up 109% over the previous summer. Dade County jail is jammed with prisoners, many of them refugees.

The task of resettling the remaining refugees has been undertaken by seven private relief agencies, including the U.S. Catholic Conference, which already has aided 55,000 refugees in beginning new lives in the U.S. To help, the Federal Government has increased its resettlement aid from $300 per refugee to as much as $2,000. At Fort Chaffee, the refugees will be given crash English language courses and training in such necessary skills as shopping in American supermarkets. Still, warned David Lewis, who heads the Catholic Conference office at Fort Chaffee, there are no short cuts. Said he: "At the current rate, we will have to continue our work into next year."

Even then, the work will not be over. The charities are only beginning to deal with the problem of refugees who cannot make a success of their new lives. So far, there have been only about 5,000 refugees who have returned to agencies for help, but the number is expected to grow. Even some of the most ambitious Cubans have found the adjustment to the U.S. extremely difficult. One example is Amado Benítez, 29, who found a home in Chicago with his half sister just two days after his arrival in Florida five months ago. A professional welder, Benítez went looking for a job, but he could not find one because of his lack of English and the city's high unemployment. To make matters worse, his immigration papers authorize employment only until Jan. 15. Meanwhile, like most other Cuban refugees, he is ineligible for welfare. Trapped in this legal limbo and unwilling to burden his half sister any longer, Benítez is now sleeping on a cot in an unheated garage, living on earnings from odd jobs and handouts from friends. Says he: "It's starting to get cold."

—By Ellie McGrath. Reported by Steven Holmes/Chicago and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Fort Chaffee

PERSIAN GULF

The Blitz Bogs Down

Iran halts the Iraqi advance and turns the war into a punishing stalemate

Iraq's thrust into Iran came to a stuttering halt last week as both sides dug in and a rocking, punishing kind of stalemate set in. The enemies exchanged thundering barrages of artillery across the Shatt al Arab estuary. Iraqi infantrymen intent on consolidating their sliver of captured Iranian territory took heavy losses in hand-to-hand fighting for possession of three key towns and a vital port installation. Iranian Phantom fighter-bombers streaked low under the radar in deep penetration raids all the way to the enemy capital of Baghdad. Beneath the orange fireballs and black smoke gushing from bombarded storage tanks, the oil refining and shipping facilities of both countries suffered such severe damage that years of reconstruction, and billions of dollars, might be required to restore them. Through it all, with no realistic prospect for a cessation of hostilities in sight, the conflict showed signs of turning into a prolonged, possibly no-win war of attrition.

A series of well-meaning appeals for a cease-fire and parallel attempts at peacemaking—by the United Nations, by the fraternity of Islamic countries and by some of the frightened nations bordering on the war—got nowhere. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, declaring he had achieved his military goals and was ready to negotiate, announced a unilateral cease-fire. The aroused Iranians paid no attention. On Sunday, as the cease-fire went into effect, Tehran's jets attacked Baghdad and other cities in Iraq.

Nonetheless, a palpable, if tenuous, sense of relief was felt in the international community—most of all when Tehran formally pledged "to spare no effort" to keep open the Strait of Hormuz, through which passes 40% of the Western world's oil. In fact, tanker traffic was moving through the strait safely, even if on a reduced scale. Concluded U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie hopefully: "The broader risks seem to have diminished somewhat. And I would hope they will continue in this direction."

Iraq's initial blitz had clearly failed to produce anything like the swift and easy victory that Baghdad may have anticipated. Iraq evidently miscalculated Iran's military resilience. After an initial withdrawal in the face of the Iraqis' surprise invasion along a 500-mile front, Iran rebounded with a vengeance. Iraqi claims about the capture of four cities inside Iran's oil-rich Khuzistan province in the first week of fighting proved to be embarrassingly premature. While Iranian main forces, an amalgam of Islamic Revolutionary Guards, border guards and army troops, took on the Iraqi regulars, some of the Iranian heavy artillery began to arrive from as far away as Mashhad near the Soviet border. At week's end Iranian forces appeared to have built up sufficient strength for counterattacks and, according to Tehran, a paratroop drop for the defense of Khorramshahr.

The Iranian air force appeared to have superiority in the skies, just as the Iranian navy appeared to be master of the Strait of Hormuz, and the gulf as well. Iranian Phantoms, flying in formations of two or three, darted through the air with near impunity. Early in the week, two of the U.S.-built fighter-bombers swept undetected over the heart of Baghdad in broad daylight and bombed Iraq's controversial French-built nuclear research center. The bombs missed the $275 million reactor itself, but according to foreign eyewitnesses, they destroyed a number of auxiliary facilities at the center and inflicted large numbers of casualties.

As though in revenge for the Iraqi bombing of Kharg Island, Iran's main outlet for oil, the week before, the Iranians also launched repeated bombing raids against the refineries of Basra, the pumping stations around Kirkuk and Mosul, and the oil port of Fao at the mouth of Shatt al Arab. Tehran even sent a few of its sophisticated U.S.-made F-14s into the war; they were flown sparingly, but according to Iranian reports their Phoenix air-to-air missiles succeeded in downing more than a dozen Iraqi MiG-23s.

Still, there could be no denying that Iraq was in control of a 30-mile swatch of Iranian territory east of the Shatt al Arab, the 120-mile-long border waterway that empties into the Persian Gulf. There, on the ground, the rival forces were locked in battle at four critical locations:

▶ At strategic Khorramshahr, scene of the heaviest fighting, where after uninterrupted artillery bombardment, elite Iraqi special forces continued to pour in against Iranian Revolutionary Guards and the arriving Iranian regulars.

▶ In the nearby oil-refining center of Abadan, which Iraqi infantry columns were seeking to encircle with the aid of heavy artillery fired across the Shatt al Arab from the town of Sieba one mile away.

Flames from oil storage tanks light up the night sky of Baghdad after Iranian air attack sets refinery ablaze

NADAL—ATELIER PHOTOREPORTERS

▶ In the provincial capital of Ahwaz, 60 miles north, where Iranian defenders with strong air support were keeping massed ranks of Iraqi tanks and artillery guns pinned down 14 miles outside the city.

▶ And finally, in Dezful, a key military base and oil station, where the Iranians were successfully frustrating an Iraqi bid to vanquish the town and prepare for a possible pincer assault on Ahwaz.

Throughout the week, the Iraqis poured reinforcements through the captured Iranian border town of Qasr-e-Shirin into the crucial southern theater where Iran's major oil facilities are situated. In the welter of claim and counterclaim, for example, the Iraqi officers repeatedly said their forces were on the verge of capturing Khorramshahr. Tehran called that particular claim a "hallucination" and insisted instead that the Iraqis were being forced to withdraw, leaving behind 16 tanks and armored personnel carriers and abundant stocks of ammunition. The truth, as foreign observers were able to establish at the scene, appeared to lie somewhere in between *(see box)*

The Iraqi war plan apparently hinged on seizing enough Iranian territory in an initial strike to use as a bargaining chip in its efforts to regain sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab, which it had agreed to share with Iran in a 1975 agreement with the Shah. Perhaps for that reason, President Saddam Hussein not only responded favorably to a U.N. Security Council vote calling for an end to hostilities, but also issued his own "unilateral" offer of a four-day cease-fire. Iranian President Abolhassan Banisadr replied to the U.N. plea with a scornful insistence that his country would not consider a cease-fire "so long as Iraq is in violation of our territorial sovereignty." A peace-seeking effort by Pakistan President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, who had been dispatched to the two capitals by the 42-nation Islamic Conference, also came to naught. Reporting on his mission, General Zia expressed the hope that "peace, while it may not be at hand, was still within reach," but no combatant expected to experience it soon.

Even as hopes for an early cessation of hostilities faded, so did fears that the conflagration could spread to neighboring Arab gulf states or even escalate into a confrontation between the superpowers. Responding to Saudi Arabia's fears of possible spillover attacks against Middle East oilfields, the U.S. lent Riyadh four AWAC (Airborne Warning and Control System) electronic-surveillance planes. Mindful that Iran might misinterpret the gesture as an act of pro-Iraqi collusion, Muskie wrote a letter to Banisadr re-emphasizing U.S. neutrality. Indeed, Iran promptly denounced the action as "provocative." As usual, it did not help the hostage problem. Iran's parliament, the Majlis, put a seven-member commission of hard-liners in charge of the hostage question and also voted unanimously against any hostage negotiations for the present.

On the Iranian side of the conflict, the mood could not have been more warlike. At the militant exhortations of the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, the whole country rallied enthusiastically behind the government. Huddled in the dim light of candles during a blackout, Iranians listened over their radios to the 80-year-old revolutionary leader implore them to "resist with dignity and courage" and fight until the "infidels" had been driven not only from Iran but also from Iraq. When Palestine Liberation Organization Chief Yasser Arafat showed up on a self-appointed mediation mission, Khomeini refused even to see him. And when Cuban President Fidel Castro sent a message urging Iran's acquiescence in a cease-fire, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Raja'i retorted contemptuously: "What do you [Cubans] think Iran is? A lackey of the superpowers?"

By midweek 47,000 reservists had reported for duty in response to President Banisadr's call-up of the class of 1977-78. In cars and pickup trucks and on motorbikes, thousands of small armed militia groups headed toward the front. Civilians organized convoys of food, clothing, medicine and fuel. As each newly formed battalion set off, townspeople showered it with flowers and made it pass under a copy of the Holy Koran —a Persian tradition aimed at

Iraqi artillery firing on Iranian positions

exorcising evil. With stoic fatalism the young bride of a soldier who had just left for the fighting remarked: "Life is a borrowing from God. It must be returned to him when he so wants."

Three Iranian photographers who traveled to the front last week reported that Iran was conducting a double war: a regular campaign by the armed forces, and a "people's war." Local defense councils organized teams of civilian guerrillas, armed with homemade grenades, rifles and Molotov cocktails. Said one youthful warrior: "Iraqis have never seen this type of war. They still cannot figure out how essentially unarmed men can beat tanks. O.K. They shoot us—one, two, three or ten. But finally, we set the tank ablaze, drag them out and tear them to pieces. They have seen it happen to their colleagues. They try to avoid it themselves."

On the Iraqi side, the government's radio and television sustained a comparable campaign of martial enthusiasm. Like Khomeini, President Saddam Hussein went on television to address his nation in his field marshal's uniform. "Our army has reached its goals," Saddam boasted. "The time is over," he said, "when Iran acted as watchdog of the gulf. *We* are the swords of the Arab people." Yet, in some passages, the address was curiously low-keyed and Saddam otherwise displayed little of his usual bravado. At times his voice quaked as he sipped nervously from a glass of water.

It was also a fact that food and fuel supplies were running short in some Iraqi cities. The nightly blackouts made a flashlight a precious commodity. Baghdad experienced repeated power failures as a result of the Iranian bombings. Said a doctor in Basra: "Last week our lives were not too affected, and most people thought of this as a just and honorable war that was even kind of exhilarating. Now we are starting to find out about the hard times it can bring."

Baghdad hospitals took in hundreds of military and civilian casualties of the bombings. Teams dug networks of trenches around public buildings to provide cover for further raids. The war's toll was also beginning to be reckoned in terms of the flag-covered coffins that slow caravans of small white trucks carried into Baghdad from the front.

Most analysts agreed that in his military planning, Saddam Hussein had seriously miscalculated on several counts: 1) The Iraqis were said to have expected

Iraqi tanks and (left) an armored personnel carrier move up into offensive positions during the invasion of Iran's Khuzistan province

The Road to Khorramshahr

Iraqi military authorities suddenly limited the war zone to visiting journalists last week. Though there was no official explanation, the motive seemed obvious: in the space of little more than a week, an apparently unstoppable Iraqi advance had, in fact, been halted and transformed into a stalemate in which the Iranians were more than holding their own. Before the ban, TIME *Correspondent William Drozdiak was able to catch the change in the war firsthand in repeated visits to Basra, and near Khorramshahr in occupied Iran. His report*

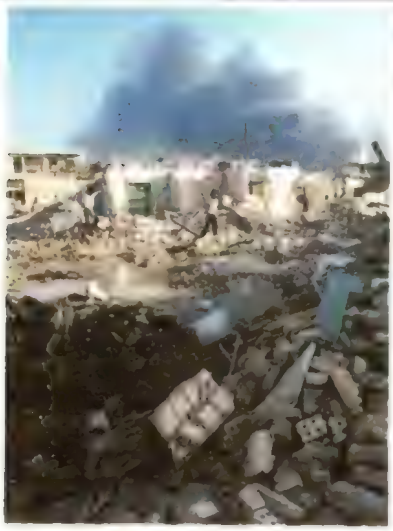
Despite the shrill peal of air-raid sirens regularly echoing throughout the port of Basra early last week, the absence of air strikes for four days had nurtured a languid mood among the Iraqi soldiers and civilians in the town. Troops from the front lines recounted boastful tales of Iranians fleeing before their artillery barrages, while the television pumped out scenes of Iraqi attacks to martial music and announced the claim that Ahwaz, 45 miles into Iran, had just been captured. "Maybe tomorrow, maybe the next day," boasted Captain Abu Rashid, beaming proudly in his black beret and crisp green fatigues. "But victory will be ours."

That serene façade was shattered moments later. At precisely 12 noon, the windowpanes in the Shatt al Arab Hotel were blasted by a concussive boom. As explosion after explosion followed, everyone in the lobby dived to the floor or huddled next to pillars for protection from the surprise raid by two Iranian Phantoms skimming 100 yds. above the port. In less than a minute it was over. We poured outside and crossed a rickety wooden bridge to view the damage: just 300 yds. away on Sinbad Island, bright orange flames and thick black smoke curled from a coastal dredging vessel that had been nearly cut in half by a direct hit. Fire engines raced to the scene and sprayed water and foam to prevent the flames from spreading to nearby military craft.

Iraqi patrol creeps forward in occupied Iran

That bold Iranian air strike served as a sobering harbinger of Iraq's shifting fortunes in the war. We saw a number of subsequent attacks by the Phantoms on oil installations around Basra. Swooping in low to avoid radar detection, they dodged Iraqi efforts to bring them down with Soviet-made surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) that invariably fizzled off in erratic curves and exploded aimlessly in the desert dust. Soon there was evidence that the ground war was also beginning to go less well than the Iraqis had anticipated. Iraqi ground forces had staked early claims to victory in their advance toward Khorramshahr; along with four other Western correspondents, I went to see how, in fact, the week-old campaign was faring.

The journey began with a brief ferry trip across the Shatt waterway, then a hired taxi to Khorramshahr. Crossing a flat,



that soon after their attack, anti-Khomeini exiles would mount a coup in Tehran; it did not take place. 2) The Iraqis believed that the U.S. embargo on spare parts had totally incapacitated the Iranian air force; this proved completely wrong. Said one observer: "Even if the Iranians cannibalized half their air force to keep the other half in the air, they would have an air force much better than the Iraqis'." 3) The Iraqis assumed they would receive the support of the estimated two million Arabs living in Iran's Khuzistan province; in fact, the Khuzistan Arabs, who are Shi'ite Muslims, were inclined to rise to the defense of Tehran. 4) The Iraqis underestimated the Iranian will to fight; indeed, the Iraqi attack galvanized Iran with an internal political unity not seen since the overthrow of the Shah and prompted Khomeini himself to call it a "blessing in disguise."

Tehran also announced the establishment of a headquarters for a new organization called the "Islamic Revolution of Iraq," with the avowed purpose of fomenting subversion against Baghdad. In its first communiqué, the group called on the 40,000 Muslim Shi'ites who were expelled from Iraq last March to join Iranians in their "holy war."

For that matter, the Iranians had not yet committed all of the advanced weaponry that they were known to possess—such as a large number of U.S.-supplied surface-to-surface missiles. The question was whether they were still being kept under wraps because of a lack of spare parts and skilled personnel, or because of a strategic calculation. If they were being kept in reserve for future offensives, then the Iraqis might yet face further unpleasant military surprises. *—By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by William Stewart/Baghdad and Wilton Wynn/Beirut*

Rubble of houses in Abadan (above); Iraqi forces advancing on Khorramshahr (below left); and a Soviet-built SAM near Baghdad

dusty plain, laden with mud-camouflaged military vehicles, our party reached the Iraq-Iran border post of Shalamche. There, eight miles from Khorramshahr, dozens of 130mm artillery guns were hunkered down in a vast arc, pelting the Iranian-held port with booming shells.

A solicitous Iraqi lieutenant offered tea, grapes and bread while taking down our names, blood types and the publications we represented. Amid the rubble of the customs office destroyed in the early days of the Iraqi advance, the soldiers displayed their war booty. One favorite item was a poster of Khomeini's stern visage inscribed with the quotation: VIET NAM HAS DISGRACED THE UNITED STATES, THE GREAT SATAN. His face had been slashed by bayonets.

The Iraqis pointed out a baggage-inspection room filled with crates of ammunition abandoned by fleeing Iranians; a nearby ditch was filled with Iranian rifle cartridges and grenades. Iraqi privates offered gifts of captured Iranian coins, scarves and Khomeini posters as souvenirs. A burly captain called attention to the wisps of smoke above Khorramshahr and predicted that in a day or so we would be able to return to report its final capture. He waved farewell and called in halting English: "See you in Tehran."

Three days later, we crammed into camouflaged vans for what we thought would be that ride into captured Khorramshahr. But at the same Shalamche border post little of the earlier cockiness remained. A grimy, obviously exhausted major just returned from door-to-door fighting admitted: "We had very few casualties until we went into the streets today. But this morning we took heavy losses." Iraqi troops had encircled the town and were shelling the center, but pockets of Iranian revolutionary guards were holding out with martyr-like zeal.

POVEDA—ATELIER/PHOTOREPORTERS

Iraqi invaders march across a captured bridge

Clearly visible from the Shalamche frontier were ominous puffs of dust kicked up by incoming Iranian fire a mile away. After some consultations, Iraqi officers agreed to let our three-van entourage enter the Khorramshahr area with a military escort leading the way. As we sped down the road to the embattled town, past several hulks of bombed military vehicles smoking in the ditches, artillery fire hit close by.

No more than a thousand yards into Iran, our escort truck was struck, burst into flames and overturned. Artillery shells exploded on both sides of the road as we clambered out of the vans and hit the dirt. At the same time, the Iraqi drivers furiously swung their vehicles around to head back. Shells hissed past us as we darted to the vans, whose drivers were so stricken with terror that they were accelerating to get out of range even before everyone could climb into the vehicles. As the diminished convoy raced back to the border, the raining shells receded in the distance. Clearly, the Iraqis did not yet own the road to Khorramshahr, and the Iranians had every intention of keeping it that way.

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At the ready: standing in a military Land Rover, Saudi Arabia's King Khalid reviews troops of his national guard

On the Fretful Sidelines

The gulf states: caught in a crossfire of conflicting allegiances

In the first flush of Iraq's attack on Iran two weeks ago, the other Arab states were rooting for an Iraqi victory, almost like so many partisan soccer fans. Once again Arab legions were marching off to war, this time not against Israel but against the Persians, who, though Muslims, are ancient foes of the Arabs. The prospect of a quick and decisive victory seemed at hand, and happy Arab throngs gathered at bazaars, coffee houses and street corners to listen to radio reports of Iraqi triumphs and cheer on their Arab brothers.

Some Arab leaders made it obvious which side they were on. Saudi Arabia's King Khalid phoned Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to express support for his battle against "the enemies of the Arab people," according to Iraqi reports. Jordan's King Hussein publicly applauded the attack. Kuwait's official news agency, which reflects the views of the ruling family, adopted a hawkish, pro-Iraq stand. To varying degrees, Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Oman all jumped on the Iraqi bandwagon.

But life very quickly became considerably more complicated. It was soon apparent that there was no compelling cause for Arab jubilation at Iran's expense and that hopes for a swift Iraqi conquest were exaggerated. The Iranians, recovering from the surprise attack and beginning to fight back, promptly advised everybody in earshot—and within range of their fleet of Phantom jets—that overt support of Iraq would be considered a hostile act, and implied that the fragile and exposed oil facilities of the gulf states would be the first Iranian targets.

That growl from Tehran was enough to send the gulf states scuttling for the shelter of avowed neutrality. Saudi Arabia immediately contradicted Iraq and insisted that King Khalid's phone call had expressed only his "concern and good brotherly feelings" for Iraq and prayed to "God Almighty to grant what is best for our Arab and Muslim world." Kuwait's ruling Emir, Sheik Jaber al Ahmed al Sabah, implored both combatants to pursue peacemaking channels. Like Kuwait, both Bahrain and the U.A.E. denied reports that they had allowed the Iraqi air force to use their bases and adamantly insisted that they too were strictly neutral.

As the war settled into an apparent stalemate, there was an agonizing reappraisal of the stakes for all the countries in the region. None of the neighboring gulf countries has an army or air force to match Iraq's or Iran's in size. Many of the region's rulers fear that the longer the war continues, the higher the risk that their small nations will somehow be drawn into it. Worse still, the gulf states fear that the Western powers could feel compelled to step in to protect their vital oil supplies.

Every scenario in the unpredictable conflict seems to confront them with a different tangle of crossed purposes and confused allegiances. Conservative monarchies like Saudi Arabia have found themselves on the side of what has been a radical revolutionary regime in Baghdad. On the other hand, militant governments like those of Syria and Libya lean toward once despised Iran. "The Arab world is frustrated and troubled," said one U.S. intelligence analyst. "The moderate states especially see threats all around them."

An Omani patrol boat in the Strait of Hormuz

The big fear is that Iran might last out.

For most, the principal menace is Iran. One reason is oil—the only source of wealth for many of these nations. The two-week-old war had shown dramatically what vulnerable targets oil installations can be. The gulf states fear that the Ayatullah, rather than accept defeat, might choose to go out with a big bang by bombing the oil fields up and down the gulf. At the same time, Arab countries tremble over the possible repercussions from Khomeini's Shi'ite Muslim fanaticism; most of the gulf rulers are Sunni Muslims presiding over nations with Shi'ite minorities that may be susceptible to the Ayatullah's political influence. For most of the gulf states, it is a no-win situation; an outright victory by either Iraq or Iran would create a too powerful neighbor, while a protracted stalemate could build pressure to expand the conflict.

The most fretful country is Saudi Arabia, the largest OPEC producer. Saudi leaders suspect that Khomeini was behind the seizure of the Sacred Mosque in Mecca last year, as well as subsequent disturbances among Shi'ites in their oil-rich Eastern province. In defense of their oil, the Saudi government last week put in a quick but urgent request for new military hardware from the U.S. Washington sent four highly sophisticated surveillance aircraft, which are known as AWACS and carry radar equipment sensitive enough to detect both high- and low-level bombers more than 230 miles away.

Western intelligence officers believe that the Saudis, at least in the early days of the war, covertly cooperated with Iraqi forces to the extent of giving them the use of base facilities and transit rights for warplanes. That aid and comfort is thought to have dried up as the safety of the oil was placed above the desire to punish Iranian mullahs.

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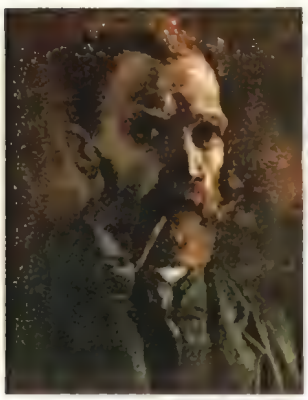

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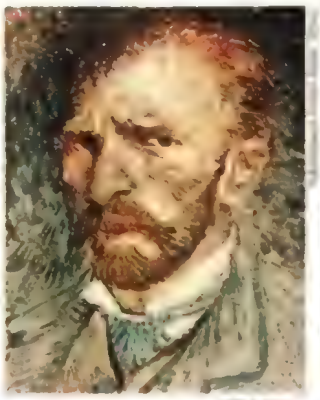

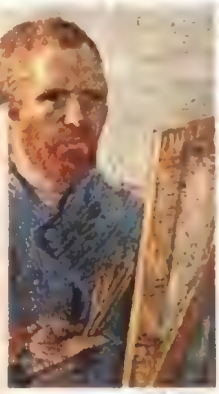

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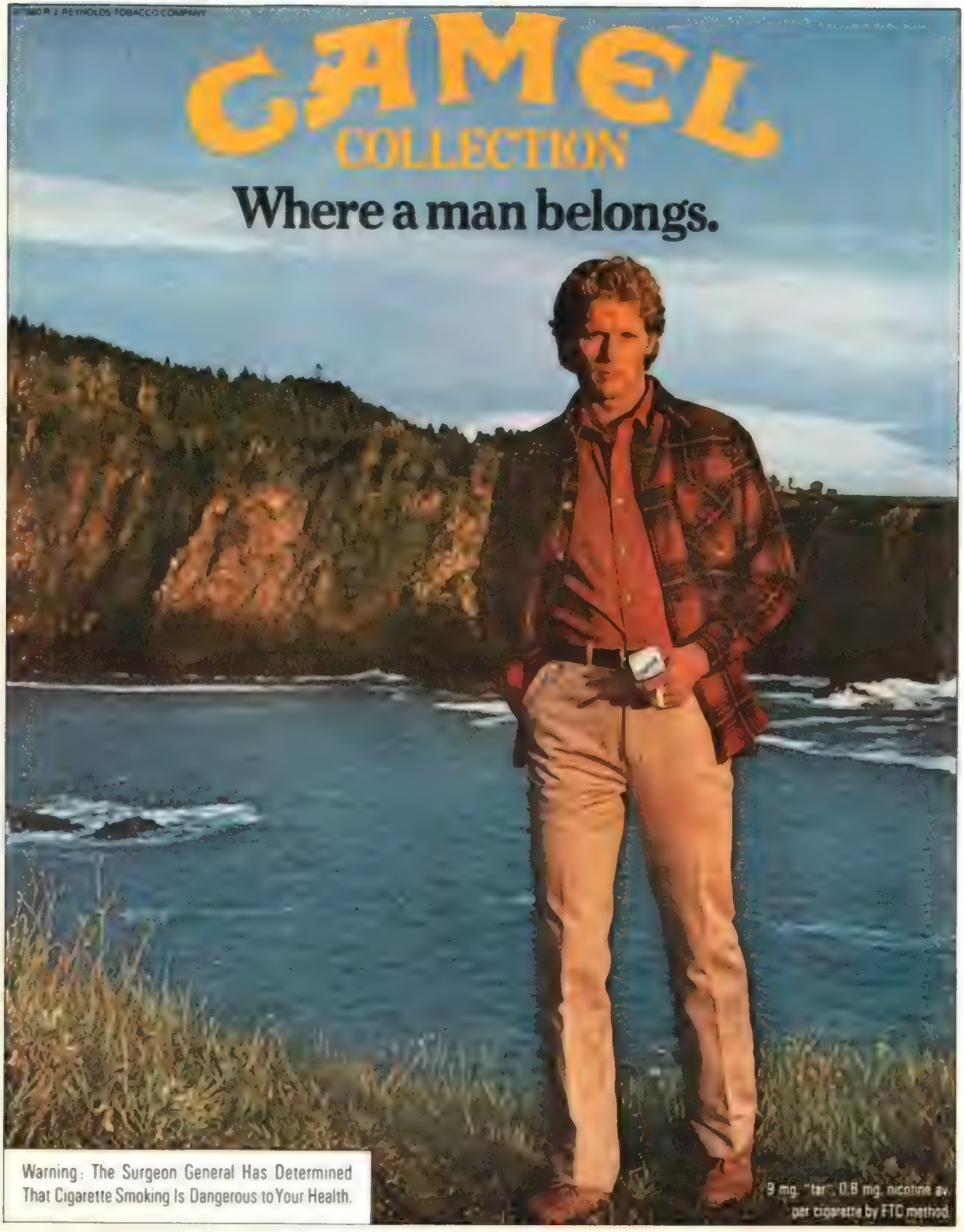


Kuwait's leaders, if they choose to visit their northern border, can see the flames of burning Iranian and Iraqi oil installations; their nation borders on the war zone. Kuwait shares Saudi concerns over its own potentially troublesome Shi'ite minorities. Its protestations of strict neutrality were not very persuasive; reporters crossing the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border last week counted over 100 gleaming new Toyota Landcruisers waiting to roll into Iraq. Nevertheless, Kuwait is also understandably schizophrenic about supporting Iraq because of a special problem: Iraq has longstanding territorial claims on Kuwait. If Iraq were to win the war and emerge as a new gulf superpower, logically it would not bode well for the Kuwaitis.

Among the small gulf states, Dubai appears to be genuinely neutral, evidently because of its large Persian minority. The other United Arab Emirates, as well as Oman, Qatar and Bahrain, all root under their breath for Iraq. Despite apprehensions about Saddam Hussein's long-term military and political ambitions, they sense a more imminent threat from Iran. Bahrain in particular is nervous about Tehran, not only because the mullahs have revived ancient Iranian claims to its territory but because Bahrain's Sunni Emir rules a population over half of whom are Shi'ites

The only regional Arab state to support Iran was Syria. Relations between the two Baathist regimes in Baghdad and Damascus have long been antagonistic; Syrian President Hafez Assad is known to believe that dissident elements within his country are backed by Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq. Like Iran, Syria views the gulf war as an American-backed plot that could lead to its encirclement by conservative Arab forces Thus the war has intensified Syria's already nearly paranoiac feeling of isolation. Assad, who in the past has rejected any formal treaty links with the Soviet Union, is scheduled to visit Moscow this week. He just might be ready to sign a friendship treaty with his hosts.

The wild cards in the edgy gulf are the large guest worker populations of Palestinians in all the gulf countries. Many among them support the Palestine Liberation Organization. Though officially neutral in the Iraq-Iran conflict because both sides have supported it against Israel, the P.L.O. is irritated at Iraq for diverting military energies away from Israel. The P.L.O is profoundly concerned about potential Western involvement in the war, and its leaders say they could bring retaliation: saboteurs are said to be standing by ready to blow up oil facilities throughout the region if the U.S. in particular were to try to intervene militarily. No wonder, all things considered, the Iraq-Iran hostilities have given their Arab neighbors an unpleasant case of nerves. —*By Jay Palmer. Reported by William Drozdiak/Bahrain and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

PAKISTAN

Middleman

A mission for Zia

Pakistan's General Muhammed Zia ul-Haq has attracted controversy ever since he seized power in a 1977 coup. He has been criticized for his refusal to hold elections. His relationship with the U.S. has been testy, following his rejection last January of a $400 million U.S. military and economic aid package as "peanuts." However miffed, Washington can hardly ignore the strategic importance of a nation that borders on Iran and on a Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. Moreover, Zia's role as chairman of the Islamic Conference has made him a peace-seeking go-between in the conflict between Iraq and

Zia addressing the U.N. General Assembly

Getting both sides of the story

Iran. Last week, fresh from his visit to the warring capitals, Zia was in the U.S. to address the United Nations General Assembly and consult with President Carter. In New York he met with a group of TIME editors to discuss the war and other topics. Excerpts:

On his mission. At the behest of the Islamic Conference, I went to Tehran and Baghdad. I went not as a mediator or peacemaker, but on a fact-finding mission. I was received cordially and warmly in Tehran. I huddled with [Iran's President Abolhassan] Banisadr and his team They gave their side of the story, saying that Iraq had violated the 1975 agreement [sharing control over the Shatt al Arab between Iraq and Iran]. They regarded Iraq as the aggressor and said that they would not agree to any cessation of hostilities. They were not prepared for any foreign mediation, [which] they said could not occur so long as each side regards the other as the aggressor. They reported on the damages they have suffered, including the fact that the Abadan refinery is gone, and other installations have been damaged.

In Baghdad, I heard Iraq's side of the story. Iraq contends that Iran also has violated the 1975 agreement and interfered in Iraq's internal affairs. They said they regarded the Shatt al Arab agreement as a humiliation of the Arab people. They said they plan to hold no Iranian territory except for certain disputed areas

On U.S. aid. During the visit of [U.S. National Security Adviser Zbigniew] Brzezinski in February, the question arose of the U.S.'s providing Pakistan with military hardware. I explained that it is not so much a question of specific arms commitments. What I wanted from the U.S. was a credible commitment to the independence and security of Pakistan. As for the $400 million U.S. loan offer, it was clearly made with a view toward helping the Afghan freedom fighters. Pakistan cannot be used as a conduit to Afghanistan. We would be inviting a severe rapping on the knuckles if we did

On the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. They now have 90,000 troops there. The insurgency of the Afghan freedom fighters is still very much alive. I think the Soviets perhaps wanted to settle things in Afghanistan in a few months. But now they have been there for ten months, and the job is still not done

Pakistan's assistance to the 1 million Afghan refugees in our country has been of a humanitarian nature. The Afghan freedom fighters are buying arms with Arab money and shipping them through Pakistan. We have nothing to do with it. We cannot seal off the entire 1,400-mile border in very rugged terrain. However, Pakistan is not supplying these arms, nor are the Americans or the Chinese involved in gunrunning in Afghanistan

On the prospect of free elections in Pakistan. The problem is the lack of a developed political system. When you have 75% illiteracy, when you have cases in which money can buy votes, when you have a proliferation of small splinter parties and no tradition of democracy, then I believe that the election result can be chaos. You [Americans] have a highly developed political system. We have a country that emerged only 35 years ago, and in which there has been only one fair election [in 1970]. The armed forces are the only stable element in Pakistan today. Recently, we have been trying to foster some electoral processes at the local level—for town councils and such bodies—in order to build an edifice for eventual democracy at the national level. ■

WEST GERMANY

The Politics of Success

Cool and steady, Schmidt parries Strauss's brawny assault

With his bulldog shape and brawling style, Franz Josef Strauss was not about to win the West German national election on looks and charisma. Throughout, he had searched for an issue to stir the electorate, something to pinprick the lofty image of his telegenic opponent, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. But every time Strauss attacked, Schmidt parried, mostly by reminding voters that West Germany had never been so prosperous or so important in world affairs. "I sympathize with Strauss," said a Düsseldorf banker. "He has been in the impossible position of trying to find fault with success."

With 70% of the votes counted in Sunday's election, Schmidt and his coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats (SPD-F.D.P.) were returned with a majority in the lower house of parliament, the Bundestag, which elects the Chancellor. His supporters won 53.1% of the vote—42.6% for the SPD and 10.5% for the F.D.P.—compared with 44.8% for Strauss's conservative Christian Democratic and Christian Social Union. Said the victorious Schmidt: "I am very satisfied with the results."

Since 1949 the tiny F.D.P., whose members are mostly middle class and professional, has been in the crucial swing role. By siding again with the Social Democrats instead of the conservatives, the Free Democrats aimed not only to block the election of Strauss, whom they regard as an extremist, but also to help Schmidt neutralize the left wing of his SPD. Said F.D.P. Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "Our mission is to ensure government from the center, not from the fringes, left or right."

Running ahead of his party as usual, Schmidt, 61, had a personal approval rating of 60% going into the election. His image was that of effective head of government, perhaps without peer, and renowned world statesman. No matter that he is reserved, even chilly. West German voters like some distance in their leaders, along with stability, firmness and caution. His government, both at home and abroad, Schmidt pledged, would stay "calculable, predictable and balanced."

Strauss, 65, a highly intelligent career politician who served with distinction as Defense and Finance Minister, had trouble building a constituency outside his native Bavaria, the heartland of German conservatism. He campaigned enthusiastically, wading into crowds and sparring with hecklers. But his colorful rhetoric tended to reinforce his image as an emotional and erratic right-winger. "There is a lack of stability in his makeup," said Lawyer Wolfgang Wilde, 40, an independent voter in West Berlin. "Moderate Germans feel that he could lead us back to cold war confrontation."

Desperate for an issue, Strauss zeroed in on Schmidt's *Ostpolitik* of intense dialogue with Moscow, chiding the Chancellor for reacting cautiously to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He branded him "Moscow's Chancellor," and charged that his policy amounted to "capitulation by installments." When strikes swept Poland in August, Strauss challenged Schmidt to support the workers openly and to make future bank credits conditional on Warsaw's honoring the Gdansk agreements. Worst of all, Strauss charged, the Chancellor was pursuing détente at the expense of close ties with the U.S. Schmidt responded that he and President Carter agreed that the West should not interfere in Poland. He also announced that he would visit Washington in November. Said he: "We are reliable allies. We are firmly in the West, but we also must protect German interests."

Playing on ever present German fears of inflation, Strauss tried to make an issue of the rising national debt—now $231.8 billion, triple what it was a decade ago. Schmidt defended the increase as moderate and necessary for the construction of much needed hospitals, schools and low-cost housing. Otherwise, Schmidt's economic defense was ironclad: inflation is running at a modest 5.1% and unemployment is a mere 3.5%. West Germany relies on oil imports to meet half its energy needs, but stockpiles are at a record high and the government has launched a $4 billion program to spur domestic coal production. Said a petroleum executive in Hamburg: "Strauss can't lay a glove on him."

Growing ever more desperate, Strauss attempted to seize on West Germany's latest terrorist outrage: a bomb blast that had killed 13 persons and injured 215 at the Oktoberfest in Munich. The bomb, according to police, had been set by a 21-year-old neo-Nazi student who was killed in the explosion. Strauss recklessly suggested that Interior Minister Gerhart Baum, long a whipping boy of conservatives, had been lax in pursuing terrorists and thus bore "heavy responsibility" for the tragedy.

With so little in the way of genuine debate, the candidates used their speaking skills to sling mud at one another. Strauss belittled Schmidt as "Moscow's tool," "a high-ranking megalomaniac" and "fit for a mental institution." Schmidt retaliated by labeling his opponent "unstable," "dishonest" and "dangerous." His invective may have been blander, but the Chancellor seemed to get the better of the insult-fest too. Somehow he managed to convey an aura of outraged statesmanship while Strauss left an impression of crassness. Groused Strauss: "What it amounts to is that Schmidt is a better actor and I am a better politician."

Schmidt did not formally unveil any new policy blueprint for the election, cautiously choosing to run mostly on his record. But he made clear that he wants the superpowers to stay out of the Iran-Iraq war, an early agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons, more pressure on Israel to accept the P.L.O. in Middle East negotiations, and increased political and economic cooperation within the European Community. At home, he recognizes some cracks that need caulking: disaffection among youth, drug abuse, growing resentment of immigrant workers. But first of all, he has repeatedly indicated, he wants to rein in welfare spending and improve military preparedness. *—By Stephen Smith. Reported by Lee Griggs and B. William Mader/Bonn*

BOSSU—SYGMA

The Chancellor raises a red carnation during the campaign

A telegenic politician with an impregnable record.

BRITAIN

"A Triumph for Lunacy"

Labor lurches leftward in a rowdy party conference

Looking out over the gilded hall, where shouting matches were degenerating into fistfights, the conference chairwoman, Lena Jeger, rapped her gavel and shook her head like an angry schoolmarm. "This isn't a football match!" she cried over the pandemonium. "We are making a spectacle of ourselves!" So it seemed. At the very time when Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government was slumping and vulnerable to possible attack, some 1,250 Labor Party delegates trekked to the seaside resort of Blackpool for their annual conference last week and promptly turned their guns on one another. The result was a brutal factional dogfight that even the pro-Labor *Daily Mirror* branded "a triumph for lunacy."

No one had expected sweetness and light. Ever since Labor's defeat in the 1979 elections, the party has been riven by struggles between its moderate parliamentary leadership and an increasingly radical rank and file. Last week's conference proved no exception. Headed by Tony Benn, 55, a former viscount who renounced his title in 1963 in order to remain in the House of Commons, the left arrived in Blackpool determined to wrest control of the party from its leaders. In particular, the militants aimed at three longtime objectives: 1) the right to draft the party's policy manifesto, which is far more binding than a U.S. party platform; 2) closer control over M.P.s by their "constituency parties," or local committees, 80% of whose members are leftist militants; and 3) selection of the party leader by the rank and file instead of the M.P.s.

The radicals were emboldened by an early victory. A conference vote increased their dominance of the National Executive Committee, stacking it 19 to 11 against Party Leader James Callaghan's moderates. The left-wingers later won a series of drastic new policy demands: withdrawal from the European Community, unilateral nuclear disarmament and a ban against U.S. cruise missiles on British soil. Although a proposal that Britain should quit NATO was rejected, the antinuclear pledges would effectively end active British participation in the Western military alliance.

Nothing better illustrated the leftists' mood of triumph than the cheers that greeted their hero Benn as he mounted the rostrum. "Within days of the election of a new government," the silver-haired radical promised, bills would be introduced to impose a wealth tax and to nationalize a broad spectrum of additional industries, from banks to trucking firms. Benn then called for the immediate abolition of the House of Lords. This could be done, he said, simply "by creating 1,000 new peers" who could override the existing members of the House of Lords and vote the chamber out of existence. The proposal caused Labor M.P.s, including some of Benn's leftist allies, to gasp in disbelief.

Benn's challenge sparked a desperate counterattack from the party's right wing. Former Education Secretary Shirley Williams railed at the "fascism of the left," scoffed at what she called Benn's "rubbish" and delivered an acid putdown: "I wonder why Tony is so unambitious —it only took God six days to make the world." As militants booed, she issued a virtual war cry to fellow moderates: "It's time to come up, to stick your head over the parapet and start fighting. Otherwise you won't have a party worth the name."

Callaghan tried to remain above the fray. Amid widespread rumors that he would soon step down as party leader, the 68-year-old former Prime Minister delivered what appeared to be a lofty valedictory. Though he skirted the prickly constitutional issues that divided the conference, Callaghan argued strenuously against unilateral nuclear disarmament or withdrawal from NATO. "I beg of you," he implored. "I don't believe the Labor movement will say, 'Stop the world, we want to get off.' " Most of all, he called for harmony. Exclaimed Callaghan: "For pity's sake, stop arguing! The public is crying out for unity!"

But any semblance of unity was shattered when the conference turned to vote on the internal constitutional issues. The first two ballots produced a trade-off: the right retained control over the party manifesto, while the left won out on its demand that M.P.s must submit to renomination by the constituency parties midway through their terms.

Bitterness intensified over the question of how the party leader should be chosen. By a narrow margin, the left stripped the Labor M.P.s of their exclusive right to choose the leader. The vote prompted wild cheering from the open-shirted militants. But no flicker of expression betrayed the feelings of Denis Healey, 63, the tough former Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose front-running chances to succeed Callaghan were now jeopardized by the sudden rules change.

When it came to deciding what kind of electoral college would choose the leader, chaos erupted. Terry Duffy, 58, moderate head of the huge Union of Engineering Workers, urged his membership to vote against all the radical proposals. But his angry left wing revolted, and fistfights broke out on the conference floor. A compromise formula drafted by the N.E.C. was also voted down the following day, leaving the question to be decided by a special party conference in January.

Thus Callaghan, instead of being allowed to bow out gracefully, now faces fierce pressures from both sides. The left wants him to stay on until they can marshal their resources for a leader of their liking; the right wants him to leave immediately to get Healey in place as leader before the conference. Callaghan gives no hints—except to declare openly, "If Tony Benn is foisted on the parliamentary Labor Party, it would be a disaster." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/Blackpool*

Leftist Hero Benn issues a challenge

Down with nukes and the House of Lords.

Moderate Williams marshals the defense

"Time to come up and start fighting."

CHINA

Trying the Gang of Four

Peking sets out to put the Cultural Revolution in the dock

It was a sudden, precise blow that was to change the course of Chinese history. Four powerful members of China's ruling Politburo were lured into the Chungnanhai compound of Peking's Forbidden City on the pretext that an urgent meeting was about to be convened. There, they were abruptly arrested and jailed. Quickly, newspapers and radio stations were seized; key universities, where the four had influence, were surrounded by troops. With one stroke, the four leaders who had dragged China through the horrors of the Cultural Revolution had been disposed of and the way had been cleared for others to assume power. That episode, the arrest of the radical "Gang of Four," took place four years ago. Last week the Chinese leadership announced that the gang is going on trial, and thus it appeared that the final act of the drama would soon unfold. TIME *Peking Bureau Chief Richard Bernstein reports:*

Wall poster in Canton depicts the four being skewered for their crimes

"Malevolent as a demon, treacherous as a serpent, savage as a mad dog."

The trial promised to be a meticulously staged affair, by means of which Peking's leaders will provide touches of both finality and legality to the elimination of their once dreaded enemies. The gang will be brought before a specially appointed 35-member tribunal, probably within the next month, according to the official announcement. At the same time the Chinese will dispose of another, even older bit of unfinished business: the 1971 plot in which then Defense Minister Lin Biao allegedly tried to assassinate Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Lin reportedly died in a plane crash after his attempt failed. But now his six co-conspirators, who have been jailed for the past nine years, will stand formally accused before a military court.

The charges against all ten defendants are serious. Lin Biao's allies will be charged with sedition and plotting to kill Mao. The Gang of Four will be on the block for "conspiracy to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship, persecution of cadres and the practice of a fascist dictatorship," and for trying to "engineer a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion."

There is little question about the verdict. Both Party Chairman Hua Guofeng and former Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping have publicly declared the group of four to be guilty. In the past, Hua has given assurance that the four would not be executed. But last week official Chinese Spokesman Zeng Tao claimed that reports of Hua's remarks "were not entirely accurate" and did not rule out the death penalty.

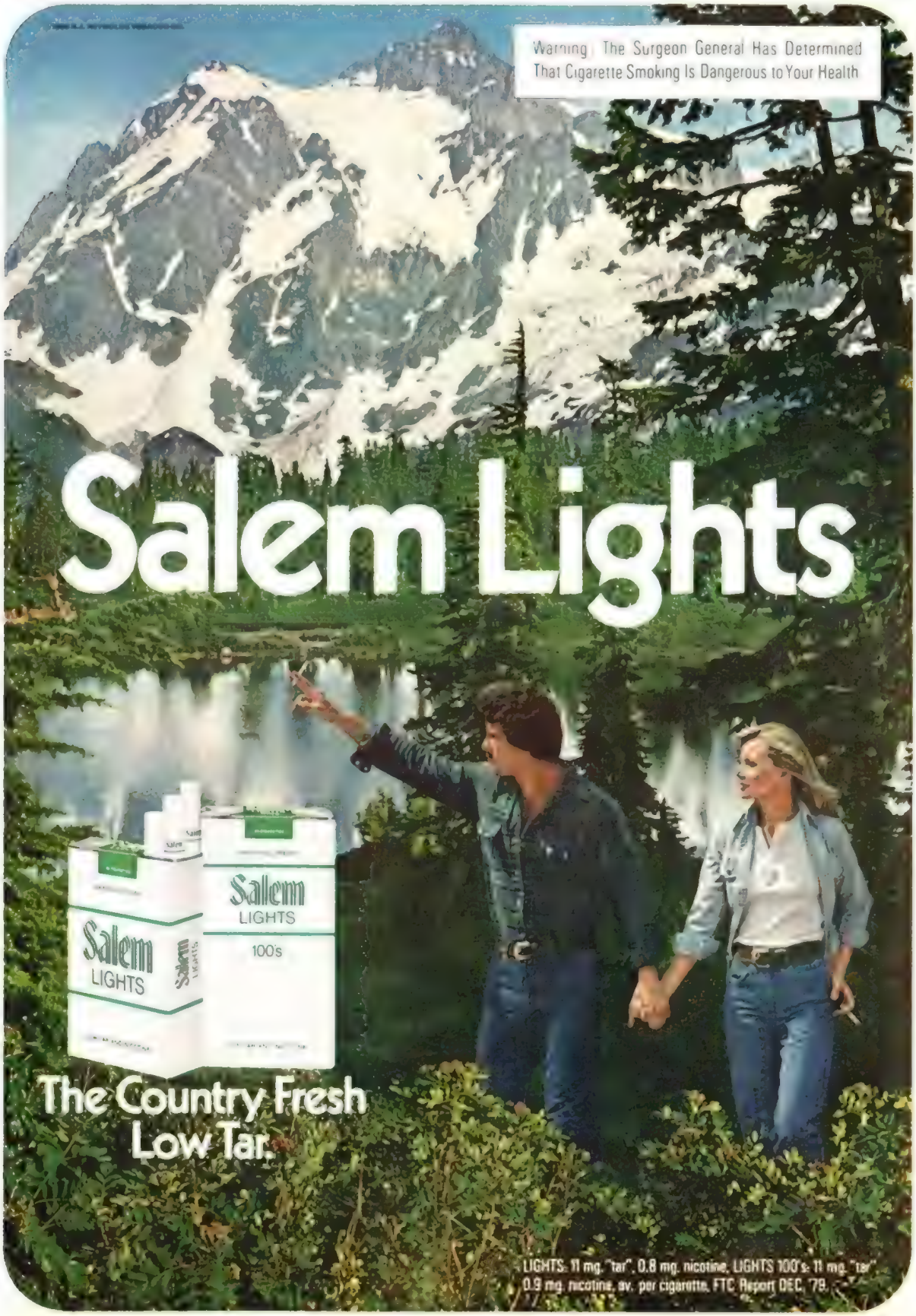
Execution of the Gang of Four would cause little uproar in China. Few would rue the demise of the group's leader, Jiang Qing, 66, a once sexy, grade-B movie actress from Shanghai, who in 1937 crossed the country to the Communist revolutionary base in northwest China and promptly captured the heart of the young guerrilla leader Mao Tse-tung. Mao's live-in arrangement with her—which apparently ended a few years before his death in 1976—was tolerated by his comrades on the condition that he keep his new common-law wife away from politics. But when Mao launched China on the chaotic Cultural Revolution in the mid-'60s, Jiang Qing rose to become the shrill tyrant of the movement. "Sex," she once confided to American Sinologist Roxane Witke, "is engaging in the first rounds. What sustains interest in the long run is power."

Jiang Qing assumed power with the assistance of her three fellow gang members: Yao Wenyuan, 56, a literary critic whose extremist articles in the Shanghai daily *Wen Hui* inaugurated the Cultural Revolution; Wang Hongwen, 43, a party secretary in a Shanghai cotton mill, who in 1973 was elevated by Mao to the third highest post in the Communist hierarchy; and Zhang Chunqiao, 69, who helped Jiang Qing purge almost the entire cultural establishment of China. The four instituted a reign of terror during which thousands of writers, artists and scientists were so relentlessly persecuted that many died or committed suicide. Though the Chinese press has exaggerated the gang's alleged crimes and blamed nearly all of the country's ills on the quartet, there are few schools, institutes or factories where at least some people did not lose their lives during the Cultural Revolution.

After her arrest, Jiang Qing became the object of one of the most sustained and virulent attacks in China's history. She was described by some journals as "malevolent as a demon, treacherous as a serpent, savage as a mad dog." Despite official claims that the trial is "open," it will be tightly controlled; no foreign observers will be permitted, on the grounds that the case involves "state secrets."

Peking is probably fearful that a truly open trial would produce a rash of potentially embarrassing disclosures. Mao had nurtured the group's members and played them off against other factions. Even venerated Premier Chou En-lai at times cooperated with them. Indeed, the excessive length of time needed to prepare for the case was probably due to internal party disagreements over just how much the trial should be allowed to reveal. Those who want to limit the possible effects on the reputations of Mao and Hua are said to have won out. Nonetheless, as one skeptical Chinese intellectual put it last week, "No matter how secret they keep the trial, everybody knows that without Mao there would have been no Gang of Four."

Even so, the fact that the trial can be held at all is an important milestone for Chinese leaders eager to distance themselves from the country's unpleasant recent past. It also indicates that despite some continuing disputes among top leaders, Peking has become sufficiently stable to allow such a delicate matter as the sins of the Gang of Four to be aired. Certainly, the trial will generate considerable excitement among the millions of Chinese for whom the Cultural Revolution remains a vivid memory. ■


Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health
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LIGHTS: 11 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine. LIGHTS 100's: 11 mg. "tar", 0.9 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report DEC. '79.

"I started with the phone company 36 years ago as a janitor. Today my grandbaby is a management trainee. That says a lot about my family and the Bell System." John Sears

John Sears and granddaughter Charnette

"When I started at Pacific Telephone, I didn't know I was starting a family tradition. That was back in 1944. I got out of the Army on a Tuesday and went to work for the telephone company that Thursday.

"I started as a janitor. I worked hard and by '56 I was promoted to heavy duty equipment mechanic. That same year my daughter, Bobbie, fresh out of high school, joined the company as an operator. Now she's a personnel manager. That Bobbie's always been a go-getter. So is her husband, Jerry. She met him at the company. He's a methods manager, but he began as a frame worker.

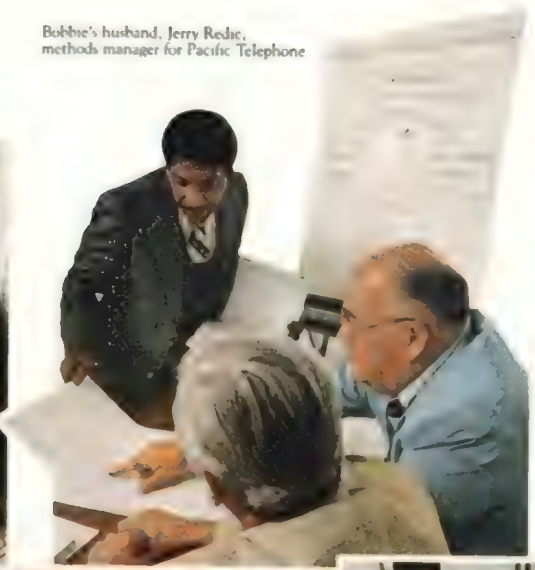
"Now my granddaughter, Charnette, is following in her parents' footsteps. Three years ago she started as a directory assistance operator and already she's in a management training program.

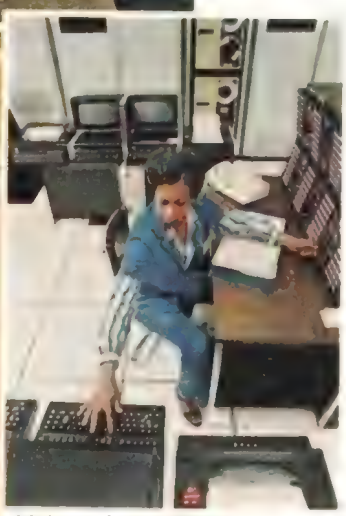
"My niece, Lorraine, also works for the company as a processing supervisor in computer programming.

"The Bell System has been good to us. When I retired in 1967, I had worked my way up to traffic dispatch supervisor. I wouldn't have wanted to work anywhere else. The rest of the family feels the same way."

Bobbie's husband, Jerry Redic,
methods manager for Pacific Telephone

John's daughter, Bobbie Redic,
personnel manager at Pacific Telephone





John's niece, Lorraine Williams,
a Pacific Telephone data processing supervisor

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Between a Rock and a Hard Case

Courts for repeat offenders dispense tough, swift justice

The defendant, 33, stood accused of five rapes, with victims ranging from a teen-ager to a young mother walking with her children in Chicago's Lincoln Park to a 61-year-old woman. After a jury found him guilty of the one rape he was actually on trial for, Judge Robert Sklodowski pronounced him a "rape bomb, ready to explode at any time." Sklodowski handed down the maximum sentence: 60 years, 30 of which must be served before he can be paroled. Such stern penalties are rare from many judges, but they are standard procedure in three courtrooms on the fifth floor of a dingy gray stone building on Chicago's South Michigan Avenue. Its nickname: "the Rock."

The Rock's troika: Thomas Fitzgerald, Robert Sklodowski, Sylvester Close

Every time one lawyer gets a case there he says to himself, "Oh God, here I go again."

With few exceptions, only the most hardened criminals end up at the Rock, which is more formally known as the Repeat Offender Team. To get there, a defendant generally must have been convicted of at least one felony and be charged either with a violent crime or with an offense, like armed robbery, where there is a threat of serious personal injury. There is never any shortage of candidates. Chief Criminal Judge Richard Fitzgerald, who oversees the program, estimates that 65% of the convicts in Illinois prisons are repeat offenders.

Robert Raymond, for example, is a convicted rapist who has spent most of the past 23 years behind bars. Last month he was at the Rock fighting rape and robbery charges and facing a possible sentence of as much as 74 years. Raymond, 45, knew the odds were against him: in 90% of the Rock's cases, the defendant either pleads guilty or is convicted, and prison sentences are dealt out 93% of the time. Says Judge Sylvester Close, one of Sklodowski's two colleagues at the Rock: "I'm no bleeding heart for any of these people who rob, rape or murder."

The Chicago program is one of a hundred or so set up across the U.S. in recent years in response to studies showing that a relatively few hard-core criminals are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime. The first was New York City's major offense bureau (MOB) in The Bronx district attorney's office, which began in 1973. MOB's success inspired the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to invest $30 million of federal money in 50 similar projects over a five-year period starting in 1975. Since then, 10,000 criminals who committed a total of 80,000 offenses have been sentenced under those projects to an average of 14 years in prison.

High conviction rates and long sentences are not the only features that set such programs apart; they are also swift. Cases in MOB move from arraignment to disposition in an average of 97 days, compared with around 400 days in the regular court system. One reason is the policy of assigning a prosecutor to each case for its duration instead of having it passed from one to another at various stages. Some programs, like Chicago's, act more quickly because the judges' case loads are lighter. Also important is their refusal to abide delays. Judge Thomas Fitzgerald, the third member of the Rock's troika, says he tries to limit continuances to 30 days, while judges elsewhere often allow 45 or 50 days.

Naturally, many defense attorneys have misgivings about this brand of judicial hardball. "I still think part of the presumption of innocence is taken away," says Chicago Lawyer Jack Rodgon. "Every time I get a case at the Rock, I say to myself, 'Oh God, here I go again.'" Nevertheless, Rodgon concedes that some of the defendants deserve their harsh sentences and says he can "live with" the court. Others are more critical. John Ackerman, dean of the National College of Criminal Defense Lawyers and Public Defenders in Houston, charges that repeat-offender programs are "just trying to hammer a whole lot harder; they're just storing [the prisoners]. That's just postponing the date they commit another offense." To the boosters of such programs, that is precisely the point. ■

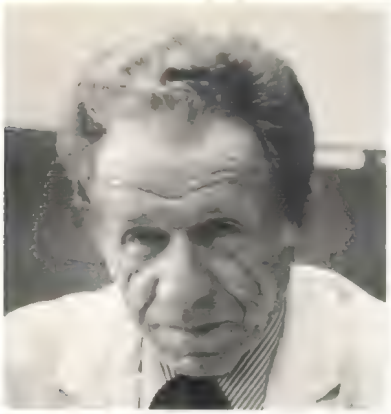
Political Pulpits

Catholic Church draws suit

It was the last Sunday before two hotly contested primary elections in Massachusetts. At Roman Catholic Masses in the Boston area, priests pulled out a letter written by the local archbishop, Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, warning worshipers that anyone voting for a politician favoring abortion would incur some of the guilt for "this horrendous crime and deadly sin." The unnamed targets: pro-choice Congressional Candidates Barney Frank and James Shannon. The letter caused bitter debate about whether the church had improperly taken a hand in partisan politics, a frequent question throughout the U.S. during this election year. In April, for instance, a South Dakota priest wrote colleagues across the state urging them to support an anti-abortion candidate who was opposing pro-choice Senator George McGovern.

Upset by such examples of "intervention," pro-choice advocates fought back last week by filing a suit in New York federal court against the IRS, asking it to cut off the church's tax exemption. The suit charges that through letter writing, articles in church newspapers and other activities, the church is violating the IRS code under which tax-exempt religious institutions may discuss issues but not campaign for particular candidates.

No legal observers seem prepared to bet next Sunday's collection plate that the court will tamper with the church's tax status. But Lawrence Lader, president of the plaintiff Abortion Rights Mobilization, suggests that the suit could have a restraining effect anyway. As Lader puts it, "I hope this frightens people enough to make them obey the law." More sobering than the suit, perhaps, were the results at the ballot box: Frank, Shannon and McGovern all won their primaries. ■



Epidemiologist Wolf Szmuness

Medicine

Hepatitis Hope

A breakthrough vaccine

Hepatitis B can be among the most unpleasant of illnesses. In its more severe form, the viral liver infection produces a loss of appetite, vomiting, fatigue and jaundice. In some cases, the infection leads to cirrhosis or perhaps even cancer of the liver. The villain virus appears in the blood, saliva, semen or breast milk of about 200 million human "carriers" who may show no signs of the disease but can transmit the virus to others.

Now a team of researchers led by Epidemiologist Wolf Szmuness of the New York Blood Center has concluded a large-scale and successful test of a hepatitis B vaccine. The test involved 1,083 homosexuals, who are at particularly high risk of developing hepatitis B because of their sexual practices. Half the men received the vaccine, the rest a placebo. The men were given three injections in six months. Only eleven cases of hepatitis B occurred among the vaccinated men, compared with 60 in the control group.

The development of the vaccine began in 1963, when Dr. Baruch Blumberg of the Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia identified a protein from the hepatitis B virus in the blood of an Australian aborigine. Researchers soon found that the protein, dubbed Australia antigen, existed in large quantities in the blood of carriers. Dr. Saul Krugman of New York University then discovered that when infected blood serum is boiled, the virus is killed but the antigen remains able to induce production of the antibodies that prevent the illness. The experimental vaccine was developed by Virologist Maurice Hilleman of the Merck Institute for Therapeutic Research. Should no hitches develop, the first hepatitis B vaccine may become commercially available in two years. ■

Religion

Contretemps over Contraception

An American archbishop tells the Pope his policy is not working

Pope John Paul II rarely minces words. In both affluent America and impoverished Africa, he has made it clear there will be no Vatican compromise in the ban on artificial birth control. Last week, however, John Paul sat intently listening in the Vatican's starkly modern Synodal Hall as an equally forthright churchman declared that the present church policy simply is not working.

The remarkable speech came at the start of the sixth Synod of Bishops, before 216 delegates summoned from around the world to advise John Paul on family issues. The speaker: San Francisco's Archbishop John R. Quinn, 51, who has hardly been known for boldness during his term as president of the U.S. bishops' conference. Quinn loyally endorsed the papal teaching, of course. But then he reminded the bishops of what most of them might prefer to forget:

▸ The ban on all birth control except the natural rhythm method—as defined in Pope Paul's 1968 encyclical *Humanae Vitae*—is largely ignored by Roman Catholics. A 1975 study from Princeton University showed that most U.S. Catholic wives practiced birth control, and of these only 6% used rhythm.

▸ With such strong opposition, priests face "grave personal problems" over how to apply church teaching and discipline. The archbishop cited a 1971 survey commissioned by the U.S. bishops reporting that only 29% of U.S. priests believed that artificial contraception is always immoral. (Only 13% said they denied absolution in the confessional to couples who use forbidden methods.)

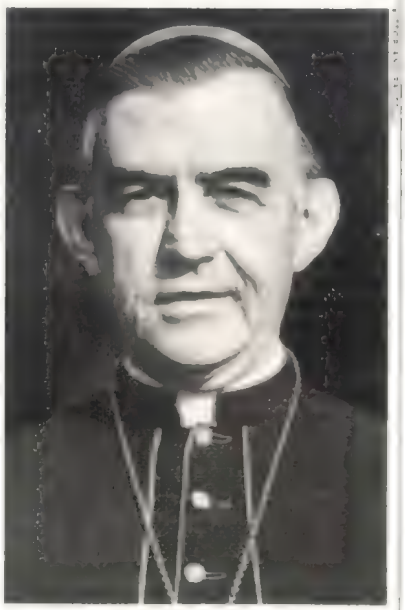
▸ This "impasse," not limited to the U.S., deeply undermines the authority of Catholicism on many other doctrines and hinders the church's entire mission.

Quinn also contended that the church cannot "credibly" treat contraception without "clear and honest recognition" of the huge problems of world poverty and population growth. The church, he said, must go beyond "a simple repetition of past formulations" and search for "nuances and clarifications, further considerations and greater pastoral insights" that will make the policy more palatable. He called upon John Paul's Vatican to undertake a "widespread and formal dialogue with Catholic theologians throughout the world." The talks would include some of the ranking theologians who have made repeated public attacks on the papal teaching.

According to *Humanae Vitae*, "Each and every marriage act must remain open to the transmission of life." The hierarchy pins its hope for limiting family size on further education in the rhythm method, especially in the Third World. It was heartened by a recent study by a U.S. Catholic professor of gynecology, who reported that the improved "ovulation method" for fixing the fertile days was as reliable as the Pill in actual use, without worrisome side effects.

Quinn's appeal was in stark contrast to the stand-pat paper the Vatican had sent out prior to the synod. Other synod speakers joined in lamenting the growing gap between Catholic teaching and observance, but the first week's deliberations were cautious. Some conservatives said the church should do more to enforce its policy and a powerful Vatican conservative, Pericle Cardinal Felici, told the bishops, "There is nothing to re-discuss. I consider the encyclical closed."

Even though the synod will also be busy mulling divorce, abortion, sexual morality and the decline of family life, the bishops will probably find much to discuss on birth control too. At the end of October they will offer final proposals to John Paul. Since papal policy at present seems to leave so little room for maneuvering, however, it could be that Quinn's speech has less to do with real hope of modifying the Vatican attitude than the U.S. bishops' need to retain the loyalty and sympathy of their parishioners. ■



Archbishop John R. Quinn in Rome

Pinning their hopes on rhythm.

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In 1981, Granada is smaller bumper to bumper, but more spacious passenger to passenger. In a world calling for efficient design this

is the smallest Granada ever, but the roomiest!

New mileage.

Granada's standard 1981 engine is an efficient 4-cylinder design. Granada's overall design and the use of high-strength steel allow a reduction in weight. A new aerodynamic configuration reduces drag. Result: the very highest mileage in Granada's history. That's an increase of more than 21% over last year.

23 EPA EST MPG 34 EPA EST HWY

For comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance and weather. Actual highway mileage and California ratings lower.

New steering.

This year, for the first time, you get rack-and-pinion steering in Granada. Resulting in quicker response when you turn the wheel.

New suspension.

Granada's new suspension is a combination of thoroughly tested MacPherson struts and radial arms; a design calculated for a comfortable ride. Between the steering and suspension, we think you'll find Granada a pleasure to drive.

Commitment to quality.

Granada is built with Ford's attention to detail. There are dozens of hand operations. For example, every door is hung and adjusted by hand. The upholstery of every seat is fitted by hand. Every car is examined by at least 38 separate quality-control inspectors. Every Granada door is double weather stripped. That's attention to detail you can see, feel and hear.

Ford Inspector

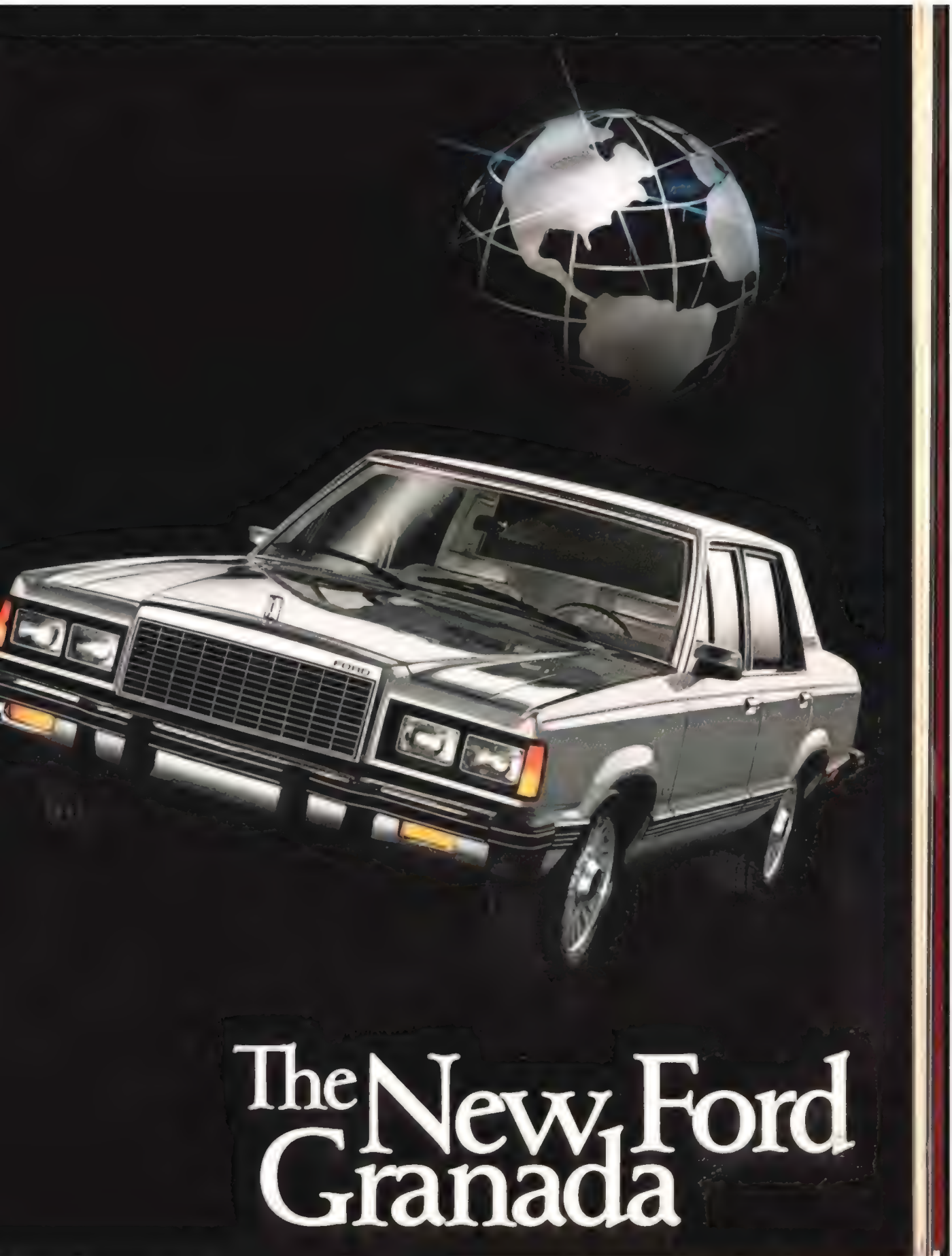
Design. Mileage. Engineering. See the changes in the 1981 Granada. It's a new Granada from the ground up.

Your Ford Dealer can discuss buy or lease arrangements and tell you about Ford's Extended Service Plan.

Ford Granada: Built for a changing world.

FORD GRANADA

FORD DIVISION Ford


The New Ford
Granada

Seconds before the fight is stopped, a battered Ali is counseled by Trainer Angelo Dundee

Requiem for a Heavyweight

The old challenger's comeback is foiled by the young champ

It was supposed to be Muhammad Ali's last hurrah, a final comeback to reclaim, at age 38, the heavyweight championship title he had won an unprecedented three separate times over two decades. It was, instead, a sad farewell. Too old, too slow, too punched-out, Ali was pummeled by Defending Champion Larry Holmes for ten long, painful rounds. Finally, Ali sat slumped on his stool in the corner while his handlers told the referee that he would not answer the bell for the eleventh round.

Ali had striven mightily to turn back the clock, coming out of a two-year retirement to train harder than ever. Since his defeat of Leon Spinks in the fall of 1978, Ali had ballooned to a blubbery 254 lbs. But after he signed (for $8 million) to fight Holmes in a 25,000-seat temporary arena specially built in the parking lot of Caesars Palace in Las Vegas, Ali retreated to his training camp in the Pennsylvania mountains to whittle away the excess pounds. More than two months of arduous workouts reduced him to fighting trim; he weighed in at 217½ lbs., the lightest he has been since 1974, when he won the title for the second time from George Foreman in Zaïre.

So Ali looked lean and fit—until he started to fight. Then it became clear that weight was perhaps the least of his problems. Age had robbed Ali of the speed that had been his hallmark. The dancing feet and lightning hands were slowed. He managed to land a few punches, but when he did, they had no sting. Holmes shrugged them off and bored in. Ali, who once could snap his head away from oncoming punches with microsecond precision, now was tardy, then immobile. Holmes pounded away with jabs that jerked back the ex-champion's neck and with whistling hooks that pounded through Ali's defenses.

From the first round, it was obvious that Holmes was in command. At 30, he is in his prime. A onetime Ali sparring partner who had ascended to the World Boxing Council title in 1978 by crushing Ken Norton, he had since defended his title seven times and won each bout by a knockout, tying Joe Louis' record. Unbeaten in 35 fights, Holmes extended his string with a masterly display of strategy and tactics. When Ali tried to shuffle out of reach, Holmes angled across the ring, cut off Ali's escape and took him to the ropes. When Ali hoisted his hands to play rope-a-dope, Holmes cunningly reached around his cover with furious hooks.

Unable to do much more than try to shield himself after the eighth round, Ali held on with the courage that, through 59 fights, had always carried him the distance. For two rounds, he seemed to be running on will alone. Indeed, Trainer Angelo Dundee had wanted to stop the fight after the ninth round, but others in Ali's entourage objected. After the next round, Manager Herbert Muhammad stepped in and asked Referee Richard Greene to end it. Said Greene: "I would have stopped it anyhow. He was bloody-eyed, and there was an overall lack of response." For the first time in his 20-year career, Ali could not finish a bout.

After the fight, Holmes was a subdued victor. Traveling the world as Ali's sparring partner, he had come to know the former champion well. In the ring, he had been reluctant to end the Ali era in ignominy: "I think the ref was a little slow stopping the fight. I held back for one whole round because I was hitting him at will." In victory, Holmes was equally respectful: "When you fight a friend—to me, a brother—and you do what you have to do, you can't get happiness from it." The next day Ali, his black eye hidden behind dark glasses, refused to rule out the possibility that he would fight again. But he admitted that the bout should have been stopped: "Taking as many punches as I was, I was glad they stopped it. Take your hearts and turn them over to Larry. He's the heavyweight champion—until I return." —*By B.J. Phillips. Reported by Peter Ainslie/Las Vegas*

Fierce and fast, Holmes jabs through the challenger's ineffective defense in the fourth round

"When you fight a friend . . . you can't get happiness from it."

Two Out, Bottom of the Ninth . . .

Baseball's regular season ends with the closest races in years

The last week of the baseball season is often about as exciting as watching the artificial turf grow. Usually, division titles are sewed up by then, the winning teams are regrouping for the playoffs, and the losers are waiting till next year. Usually. This year produced some of the most hair-raising races since the grass and the hot dogs were real. In three of baseball's four divisions, the final week opened with no certain winner. And in both National League divisions, the top two contenders ended the year by facing each other in a decisive, three-game series—a miracle of serendipitous scheduling.

Only in the American League West was the race something less than a heart stopper. The Kansas City Royals moved into first place back in May, stretched their lead to 20 games by August and loafed to their fourth division title in five years. In the American League East, the season belonged to another perennial winner. New York's Yankees jumped into first in May and never gave it up, though they did not clinch their fourth division title in five years until the day before the season ended.

The biggest surprises of the year came from a couple of upstart expansion teams that had never won much of anything. In the National League West, the unsung Astros finally managed to give Houstonians something to talk about besides oil and the Oilers. After a fast start, the Astros slumped at midseason when a stroke disabled their best pitcher, J.R. Richard. Fireballer Nolan Ryan faltered in Richard's slot, but Veteran Joe Niekro and a spot starter named Vern Ruhle, 29, rose to the occasion. The man who really sparked Houston's comeback was Joe Morgan, the team's feisty second baseman. Morgan delivered a stirring locker-room lecture to his demoralized teammates one losing Thursday. They went out and won ten games in a row.

The only thing that stood between the Astros and their first division title in the team's 18 years was Los Angeles. The Dodgers had won the pennant two of the previous three years. This time, though they were devastated by injuries, they swept the climactic three-game series with Houston to end the season with both teams in a dead tie for first, forcing a one-game playoff.

The closest race for most of the season was in the National League East between the aging Philadelphia Phillies and the Montreal Expos. The Expos have become Canada's equivalent of the amazin' 1969 Mets. Until last year, when they finished second to Pittsburgh, the Montrealers were a team of nobodies that came out of nowhere to capture hearts far beyond city limits. Indeed, *les Expos* have given an entire nation *la fièvre de baseball*. Led by *Gérant* (Manager) Dick Williams, and sparked by the hot bat of *Receveur* (Catcher) Gary Carter, the Expos have overcome a blizzard of injuries, able to field their starting lineup only a couple of dozen times during the entire season.

The Philadelphia Phillies managed to spoil the Expos' miracle, however, and earned a shot at erasing their own reputation as a team that always ends up the bridesmaid in the playoffs. The Phillies' new pennant hopes rest with the solid pitching of Steve Carlton, a favorite to win the Cy Young Award for the third time, and the hitting of Manny Trillo, Bake McBride and major league Home Run Leader Mike Schmidt.

All in all, it was a week of welcomed, but unremitting agony. "It's probably a heck of a lot more nerve-racking for the fans than it is for the players," says Dick Williams. "When you're in a game, you can do something about what's happening. But the fans just have to sit there and watch." And wonder how they are going to survive the playoffs—and the World Series. ■

Phillies celebrate victory over Montreal

Better than watching the turf grow

The fans were banned when West Ham met Castilla at London's Upton Park

Silent Night

When London's West Ham United lost 3-1 to Madrid's Castilla last month, the English soccer team's unruly fans urinated and spat on Spanish supporters, pelted the field with beer cans and fought with local police. To show that it would no longer put up with such antics, which are fast becoming a fixture of soccer matches, the European Football Union levied the penultimate penalty: West Ham would have to play its home game to an empty house. Last week the two teams played an evening match before a genteel throng of 200 or so officials and journalists in Upton Park stadium, which can hold nearly 40,000. "It was a strange experience," said West Ham Forward David Cross. "Whenever I scored, I had to look at the referee to be sure he'd given the goal. Normally the crowd's roar is enough." West Ham won the match, quietly, 5-1.

Education

Up with the Humble Humanities

Thinking should become a "basic skill"

The number of graduates in liberal arts such as history, English and philosophy has been dropping dramatically. College students, worried about finding jobs after graduation, flock to business, computer science and pre-med courses. Between 1969 and 1979 the number of college freshmen who told questioners they thought it important to develop a philosophy of life shrank from 81.7% to 52.9%. Furthermore, researchers estimate that as many as 20% of today's high school seniors are functionally illiterate.

Such portents of intellectual ill-health pour from the 192 pages of *The Humanities in American Life* (University of California Press; $12.50). The book will be issued this week by a 32-member commission funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and chaired by the foundation's new president, Richard W. Lyman. The commissioners (a dean's list of scholars, including the presidents of Yale, Smith, Chicago and Tulane) regard the humanities as more than some knowledge about language, history, art and philosophy. They credit the humanities with helping people make critical judgments about ethics and social policy, understand diverse cultures and see connections between man's past and present. In those terms, the commissioners judge the humanities "widely undervalued" in the U.S.

Their prescription: the humanities should be taught better and earlier. The "highest educational priority" must be given to improving the quality of elementary and secondary schools. They call on the nation's school-board members and superintendents to stress such subjects as history, English, philosophy and foreign languages (now taken by only 15% of high school students, compared with 24% in 1965). They recommend that writing classes be limited to no more than 20 students, and that a minimum of $16 million in new federal funds be set aside to spread innovative humanities programs.

Rockefeller President Richard W. Lyman

Getting straight on major premises.

The report urges that colleges try harder to bring order and coherence to often chaotic undergraduate curriculums. But its main thrust is at elementary and secondary education. Federal programs for educating the disadvantaged and for teaching basic skills now total more than $3.5 billion, and the commissioners fear that by seeking only a "bare minimum of literacy," such programs undermine the broader, if less measurable, task of teaching students how to think. The report urges that "critical thinking" be viewed as a basic skill and be so defined by the U.S. Department of Education.

The notion sounds abstract. But the study cites successful work by the Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children. Founded by Professor Matthew Lipman of Montclair State College in New Jersey, the institute offers a reading and discussion program that teaches the fundamentals of logic to schoolchildren as early as the fifth grade. The text for the program contains stories about young "Harry Stottlemeier" (Lipman's transliteration of Aristotle), who playfully makes discoveries about syllogistic major premises and unsnarls faulty logic like the following: "All minnows are fish; all sharks are fish; therefore, all minnows are sharks."

Fifteen schools in Bethlehem, Pa., are among those using Lipman's program. Apparently students enjoy it. Teachers say the work has taught children to define their terms and has improved spoken and written performance generally. While the Bethlehem school board is awaiting a formal evaluation of Lipman's program, Elementary Principal A. Thomas Kartsotis, 46, observes: "We see a lot of new programs come and go. I think this one's going to last." ■

Milestones

BORN. To **Henry Winkler,** 34, actor *(Heroes, The One and Only)* best known for his portrayal of "the Fonz" in the television series *Happy Days,* and his wife of two years, Publicist **Stacey Weitzman,** 32: a daughter, his first child, her second; in Los Angeles. Name: Zoe Emily.

MARRIED. Malcolm McDowell, 37, impish English actor *(A Clockwork Orange, Caligula);* and American Actress **Mary Steenburgen,** 27 *(Goin' South);* he for the second time, she for the first; in New York City. The couple met two years ago while playing strangers who fall in love in the film *Time After Time.*

ILL. Steve McQueen, 50, cool, rugged star of action films *(The Great Escape, Bullitt, Papillon);* of a rare form of chest cancer; in Los Angeles. McQueen, who was married for the third time in January, to Model Barbara Minty, 26, had for months denied rumors of the ailment. Last week he confirmed that doctors had told him in April he was suffering from mesothelioma, a cancer usually regarded as incurable. Since then, he added, a regimen of treatment, including oil baths, vitamins and "positive thinking," had "extraordinarily" improved his condition. Said McQueen: "The reason I denied that I had cancer was to save my family and friends from personal hurt and to retain my sense of dignity as, for sure, I thought I was going to die."

DIED. Princess Anne of Denmark, 62, British-born wife of Prince George and cousin of England's Queen Elizabeth II; of a heart attack; in London. Born Anne Bowes-Lyon, she married Prince George, the Danish military attaché in London and a distant cousin of Denmark's Queen Margrethe II, in 1950, after the dissolution of her marriage to Lord Anson. She and Anson had a daughter and a son, Photographer Patrick Lichfield.

DIED. Edward V. Jones, 71, architect and interior designer who carried out authentic period restorations at the White House (including the Oval Office), the State Department reception and drawing rooms (taking inspiration from 19th century Philadelphia houses, 18th century Virginia interiors and the notebooks of Thomas Jefferson), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City; of a heart attack; in Albany, Ga.

DIED. Thomas F. ("Sandy") **Richardson,** 73, a member of the famed Brink's gang that made off with $2.8 million in Boston 30 years ago, including enough in currency ($1.2 million) to make it the largest cash holdup in U.S. history at the time; of cancer; in South Weymouth, Mass. Richardson, a sometime longshoreman, was one of eleven men charged with the crime in 1956, only five days before the state statute of limitations would have run out.

The Trade Parade Grows Longer

Some U.S. firms discover bumper profits selling abroad

"In many companies, exporting has always been something of an afterthought, but in my corporation we consider foreign sales every bit as important as our domestic business." So says E.J. White, marketing vice president for Crompton Co. of New York, a medium-size textile maker (1979 sales: $159 million). Reason: in the past seven years, Crompton's export business has leaped from zero to 30% of its annual sales.

Crompton's experience is by no means unique. As high inflation and slow growth crimp the ability of businesses to make a profit in the U.S., more and more American firms, large and small alike, are turning to exports to boost sales. They are having success in part because the decline of the dollar has made U.S. goods increasingly attractive in foreign markets.

Figures released by the Commerce Department for August showed that the nation's trade deficit continues to narrow; imports exceeded exports during the month by only $1.1 billion, the best such performance since May 1976. Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick predicts that the deficit, which during 1979 was pared to $37.3 billion from 1978's record-breaking $39.4 billion, will drop by a further $2 billion to $3 billion this year.

Agricultural exports, long the mainstay of the U.S. economy's international sales drive, have performed well in recent months despite the drought that gripped much of the nation. But shipments abroad of manufactured goods have also come on strong. During August these rose by 3.8% over the month before. Indeed, American sales of manufactured products to the European Community are now 46% higher than they were a year ago.

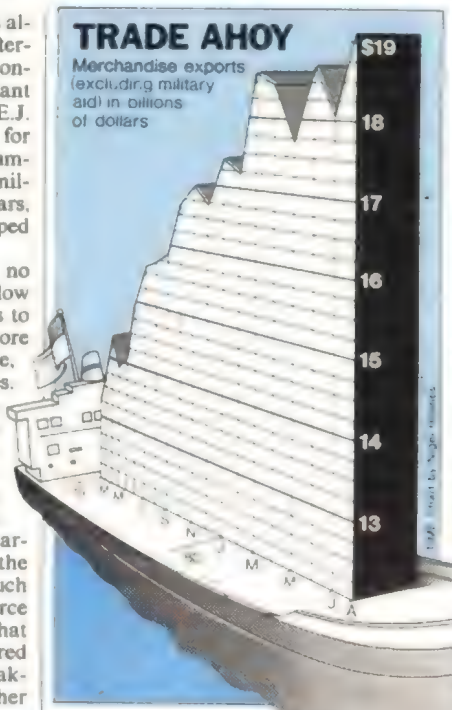
Exports of manufactured products have traditionally been dominated by a handful of the nation's largest companies, including Boeing, General Electric, Caterpillar Tractor, McDonnell Douglas and Du Pont. A surprising new export winner is the American textile industry, which is the world leader in productivity despite relatively high labor costs. Burlington Industries of New York, the nation's largest textile maker, with 1979 sales of $2.7 billion, saw its foreign business jump by 40% during the year. The big sellers: carpets, towels, curtains and clothing.

Smaller companies, many of them with less than $100 million in annual sales, are also making forays into foreign markets. Typical of the U.S.'s new generation of exporters is Keedon Enterprises, Inc. of Los Angeles, a privately owned manufacturer of hydraulic platforms, which sell for between $11,000 and $20,500 and are used as mobile scaffolds in the construction industry. The firm opened in 1973, but it did not export at all until 18 months ago. Now 50% of Keedon's output is sold abroad, and the company has distributors in 33 nations. Company Vice President Bob Ryland gained a foothold in the Australian market by the disarmingly straightforward method of writing letters to 50 building-supply firms listed in the Sydney Yellow Pages. He received replies from 40 of them. Says he: "Many small businesses are unaware of the opportunities abroad. A machine like ours would cost four times as much if made in Japan, and twice as much if manufactured in Europe. U.S. manufacturers are very competitive."

A number of companies that lack the resources to maintain sales staffs overseas are cracking foreign markets by using independent dealers abroad. Scientific Radio Systems Inc., an eleven-year-old Rochester manufacturer of high-frequency radio transmitters and receivers, exported nearly 60% of its $6.5 million in sales last year. Its products are particularly popular in less developed countries, where they are used to supplement often unreliable local telephone systems.

Explains Melvin Stiles, the company's president: "Here in the U.S., either I or someone else in the company has direct contact with our customers. But overseas, in such places as Saudi Arabia, it is too expensive to maintain an office, so we rely on a dealer. He's the person who unearths the opportunities and makes the sales. We offer our equipment to the dealer at a discount off the list price, and his markup to the customer is, in effect, his commission."

American companies are moving into exports despite the continuing plethora of U.S. laws and regulations that make it difficult to do business abroad. Last month the Carter Administration sent a hefty 250-page report to Congress on the various ways the U.S. discourages exporters. One example: the provisions of the 1977 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which have never been clearly spelled out by the Justice Department. American businessmen complain that they are uncertain about what the law considers illegal bribes and what it regards as acceptable payments to local agents. Complains Lawrence A. Fox, vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers: "We're the only country that has export obstacles like the Arab boycott, antibribery laws, human rights restrictions, limitations on sales of nuclear-related equipment and the heavy taxes placed on Americans working abroad." Washington should hardly be expected to encourage international bribery by U.S. businessmen. But eliminating some of the other restrictions that hobble eager exporters would accelerate a welcome trend that is already bringing benefits to the U.S. economy. ■



Exporter Bob Ryland of Keedon Enterprises

"Businesses are unaware of opportunities."

Steel's Deal

Aid for an ailing industry

Big Steel has big problems. The nation's mills are currently operating at only 66% of capacity, while the U.S. imports nearly 17% of its steel. In the first eight months of 1980, domestic mills produced an estimated 35 million tons for U.S. consumption, while imports totaled 10.6 million tons. Blue-collar employment in the industry has slumped from a high of 544,000 in 1953 to 264,000 in July. Profits of four of the five leading steel companies are expected to decline sharply this year.

It was, therefore, with an air of urgency that President Jimmy Carter last week announced a six-point program to aid the ailing industry. The President's plan will give steel some tax relief, loosen antipollution regulations, and provide protection against foreign imports. Although the proposals were less than steelmen wanted, they generally applauded the measures. Said one top steel official: "This industry has been a whipping boy for 50 years. Now we find the Administration in power saying we need to support steel and not knock it."

At the heart of Carter's program is a revival of the trigger price mechanism (T.P.M.), which was adopted more than two years ago to protect U.S. producers against competition from low-priced foreign products. If imports enter this country at less than the minimum or trigger price, an antidumping investigation is launched. The trigger price is based on the cost of production in Japan, which has the world's most efficient steel factories. In the past, the steel industry has complained that the T.P.M. was inadequately enforced and set too low, thus allowing cheap imports. It also accused the Europeans, whose production costs are generally higher than those of the Japanese, of dumping steel in the U.S. at low prices. U.S. Steel last March filed a complaint before the Commerce Department and International Trade Commission against steel producers in seven countries of the European Community, charging them with selling $1.3 billion worth of steel in the U.S. during 1979 at less than its cost of production. The Administration, fearing that U.S. Steel's attempts to block imports might set off a trade war, responded by suspending the T.P.M.

The new trigger price system will be set 12% higher than the average March level of $358.31 a ton. In addition, a new "antisurge provision" requires a Commerce Department review whenever imports exceed 13.7% of steel consumption in the U.S. at any time that the domestic industry is running below 87% of capacity. After the announcement, U.S. Steel dropped its case against the European producers.

The rest of the Carter program includes: tax incentives for plant modernization, increases in research, a three-year extension for fulfilling the antipollution requirements of the Clean Air Act, and subsidies for workers and communities affected by industry layoffs and plant shutdowns. One likely effect of the Carter program will be to increase steel prices, since domestic steelmakers will now be able to raise prices without as much fear of low-cost foreign competition.

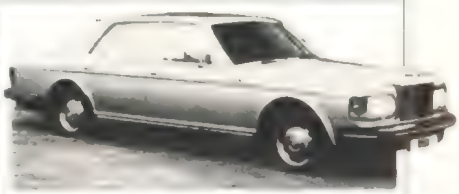
The steel plan again raised questions about the Government's role in aiding declining sectors of the economy. Says Murray Weidenbaum of Washington University: "None of this deals with the underlying problems that have created the steel industry's competitive problems. It's like handing a faulty parachute to a man who has fallen out of an airplane." Big Steel will now have to prove that a little bit of Government will help it land safely. ■

Classy Chassis

When money is no object

Most of the auto ads this year feature no-nonsense comparisons of m.p.g. ratings and maintenance costs. But shameless luxury is still available to the unabashed motoring materialist. As Ford and Chrysler executives last week nervously waited for buyer response to such new, fuel-efficient small cars as the Ford Escort and Dodge Aries, automotive big spenders could anticipate the arrival of two lavish examples of conspicuous consumption on wheels.

At Rolls-Royce, new meaning has been given to the term carriage trade. The venerable British firm last week showed off its new 1981 model, the Silver Spirit, which runs headlong into current automotive trends by being lower and wider than its predecessor. This is the automaker's first new four-door model in 15 years. In an understated manner, Rolls-Royce likes to boast about the subtle engineering changes in its vehicles; among other things, the Silver Spirit features a new digital-display clock that replaces the famous ticking one, which according to a famous old Rolls ad was the loudest thing one could hear as the car purred along at 60 m.p.h. But if you have to ask about the gas mileage, you cannot afford to buy one; the Spirit gets between 10 and 14 m.p.g. The car is priced to sell in Britain for $119,000, and will undoubtedly cost several thousand dollars more when it is introduced in the U.S. next April.



The $119,000 Rolls-Royce Silver Spirit

American Express, meanwhile, is advertising in its Christmas catalogue an auto that puts the fictional solid-gold Cadillac to shame—a two-seat DeLorean sports car electroplated in 24-karat gold. Cost: $85,000. A new company founded by former General Motors Executive John DeLorean will build the car in Northern Ireland. Gushes the American Express ad: "The car of the future is so spectacular that it surpasses the imagination."

Shaped like a flying wedge, the DeLorean appears to exceed the 55-m.p.h. speed limit while standing still. It is expected to get 22 m.p.g., about the same as a diesel-powered 1981 Cadillac Brougham. Entry to its luxuriously appointed interior is through gull-wing doors that tilt up instead of swinging out. The 24-karat car will pose some special maintenance problems. Owners wishing to get any dents knocked out will probably have to return the damaged part to the factory, where the bumps will be pounded out and the piece refinished in gold.

Although the DeLorean golden dream machine cannot be delivered until June 1981, seven people have put down the required $10,000 deposit. American Express offers to let customers place the remainder on their credit cards. Drivers who still do not like to think about m.p.g. but are not up to a gold DeLorean might consider the stainless-steel model. It will cost about $20,000. ■

The new wedge-shaped, 24-karat-gold–plated DeLorean sports car that costs $85,000

If you have to ask about the gas mileage on the Rolls-Royce, you cannot afford one.

A potpourri of official corporate chokers made by Baltimore's Schreter Neckwear, one of the largest manufacturers

A Rage for Ties That Bind

The stylish executive now wears a company cravat

A time-honored British tradition—the old school tie—is now taking root in American business. In Britain, graduates of Oxbridge colleges, officers of army regiments and members of London clubs have long worn institutional ties as a way of recognizing other "old boys" without asking. Now Americans can pick out a colleague or a competitor at a sales convention according to the cravat around his neck. Corporate neckties have recently become a bullish $12 million industry. Says A. Harvey Schreter, whose Baltimore-based company has made about 600 different company ties: "Last year our business grew by 30%, and it has trebled in the past five years."

Far from being crass advertisements for the wearer's employer, company chokers tend to be stylish, subtle, discreet. Manufacturers Hanover Trust in New York celebrates its success in international banking with cravats, designed by Pierre Cardin, that bear tiny symbols of various European, Asian and Middle Eastern currencies. Ties for Republic National Bank of New York, one of the nation's leading gold merchants, have a design showing little ingots. Brokers at E.F. Hutton can suit up with ties bearing the initials EFH. The letters are almost indecipherable at a distance of more than six inches.

Some companies now bring out a new corporate tie as regularly as they break out cigars after the announcement of a successful earnings report. Says John C. Moran, president of Manhattan's Hampton Hall Ltd., one of the leading corporate tie makers: "They are used to introduce a new installation or a new product or sometimes a new logo, for company anniversaries or as part of a sales campaign." Philip Morris ordered up a tie with a percentage sign on it, as the symbol of a sales convention that had the theme "It's all a percentage game." Nestlé last spring commissioned a tie in honor of the 50th birthday of the chocolate-chip cookie. Anheuser-Busch has no fewer than a dozen ties celebrating the firm's various brands of beer.

Hampton Hall President John C. Moran
"Like baseball cards for big kids."

Schreter

The design of a company tie can be a topic important enough to require top-management decision. At Cleveland Trust Co., key executives spent months debating the company tie's pattern and testing various samples on associates. They finally settled on a stylized CT motif.

Collecting corporate ties has even become a new executive-suite game. "They are like baseball cards for big kids," says William Clayton, a senior vice president of E.F. Hutton. Clayton had the 128 ties he owns hung like a tapestry on a wall in his office. The more subtle the tie and limited its distribution, the more prized it becomes. One of the most highly sought-after ties is the one by Pepsi-Cola with the company logo in Cyrillic script, distributed to a select group of Soviet officials as a memento of the company's trade knot with the U.S.S.R. Another collector's gem because of its scarcity in the U.S. is the navy blue Toyota tie with the automaker's name in Japanese.

Corporate ties are usually reserved for company directors, important clients and a few corporate friends. They are rarely sold to outsiders, since that might detract from their cachet. Most firms order only a limited number of the ties in silk because of the expense, about $10.50 each. More pedestrian polyester versions costing about $7.25 each are usually offered to middle-level employees at cost. And for their new women executives, many companies now have scarves that bear the corporate tie design. ■

Cinema

Warrior Nakadai meets reborn Thief Nakadai in Akira Kurosawa's *Kagemusha*

Shadow Warrior

KAGEMUSHA
Directed by Akira Kurosawa
Screenplay by Akira Kurosawa and Masato Ide

In 16th century Japan a thief is saved from crucifixion because he looks like Lord Shingen, a clever and determined warlord who may have the strength and wit to unite a feudal nation under his banner. It is his idea to train the criminal as his double, against the day he himself is wounded or otherwise unable to inspire his troops in battle. This, in time, the *kagemusha*, or "shadow warrior," successfully manages. But then the dying leader conceives the notion of having his stand-in attempt a more difficult impersonation Shingen wants the *kagemusha* to take over his life entirely and rule in his stead after his death, which is to be kept secret for three years so that the momentum of his conquests can be maintained

The 27th film by Akira Kurosawa, 70, *Kagemusha* sounds like tricky, plot-laden political melodrama. Indeed, there is a lot of story here. On the other hand, there is a lot of film here too, more than 2½ hours of it, even in a truncated "international version." The considerable pleasure of *Kagemusha* tends to be of the stately visual variety. The old master of Japanese cinema (*Rashomon, Seven Samurai, Yojimbo*) may merely allude to material that in younger hands would be the stuff of a passionate play. But Kurosawa's mood now is autumnal and dispassionate. What really interests him is an imagery that can only be termed timeless: the look of an army on the march, silhouetted against a setting sun or outlined against a placid shoreline or engaged in night battle on a ground as mysteriously dark as the midnight sky. The hell-bent arrival of a messenger in a besieging army's encampment, or in a peaceful palace courtyard, becomes a little epiphany on the frantic nature, and perhaps the absurdity, of the world of affairs.

In the end, the double (played with exemplary restraint by Tatsuya Nakadai, who also plays the man he is doubling for) grows into his leadership role, acquiring the wisdom that should accompany leadership. In due course he is undone through ironic circumstances. And after that, one must witness the undoing of Shingen's clan through the misrule of his successor. Kurosawa contemplates ruin as he contemplates glory, with an objective thought as to what can be salvaged from disaster in the way of a momentary beauty, the accidental congeries of color and composition that men create as they go about their often bloody affairs. It is not much. But it is clearly enough to sustain the director. And, as it happens, his audience. —*By Richard Schickel*

Sly Spy

HOPSCOTCH
Directed by Ronald Neame
Screenplay by Brian Garfield and Bryan Forbes

With each year Walter Matthau looks more and more like an affable bloodhound. His cheeks seem to grow pouchier, his eyes more sadly knowing, his manner ever more wisely patient. To his basic screen self this great comedian of calm has added, in *Hopscotch*, a nicely distracted air: he moves through the picture humming bits of Mozart and even, at times, conducting an imaginary orchestra.

One would not take him to be one of the CIA's top men. Indeed, he is now unrecognized even by the CIA, particularly a slick, thick deskman (Ned Beatty) who makes the mistake of canning Matthau for not sticking by the book when he breaks up a Soviet spy ring in Munich. Walter's revenge is what the rest of the film is about.

His scheme has a certain charm. He writes his memoirs, mailing them back to headquarters—and to the Soviets, the Chinese and anyone else who might be professionally interested. The agency falls all over itself trying to apprehend him before the final revelations can undo its secret activities completely. But aided by a once and present lover (Glenda Jackson), Matthau leads a mostly merry chase through much of the free world, keeping one jump ahead of his CIA pursuers until a happy, tricky ending is achieved.

For an essentially linear plot, this one seems to require an excess of exposition, and the film lacks both snappy comic writing and truly suspenseful action. Beatty aside, the minor characters are not developed with much flair. Sam Waterston, as a onetime Matthau protégé in the agency now forced to lead the pursuit of his mentor, is bland in a blandly written role. Herbert Lom, as Matthau's friendly rival from the U.S.S.R., is too friendly for the good of the picture. The film lacks a needed air of menace.

Still Matthau is Matthau: a resourceful actor capable of charming away an audience's doubts over routinely efficient direction and a screenplay that mistakes convolution for cleverness. The sly pleasure he takes in staying at least two jumps ahead of his material is infectious. He does what a star must do: he creates the illusion that this film is better than it actually is. He also makes it look easy. —*R.S.*

Matthau as CIA man in *Hopscotch*
An affable bloodhound at bay.

People

Mr. Green Jeans (Brannum) and Captain Kangaroo (Keeshan) ride into their 26th year on television together

Despite 25 years on the air and 7,070 shows in his pouch, **Captain Kangaroo** still keeps the kids hopping. "Ask **George Burns** when he's going to retire," laughs **Bob Keeshan,** 53, TV's one and always Captain. "When he retires, maybe then I'll think about it." Keeshan celebrated the show's silver anniversary last week in New York along with his family, his cast and some former guest stars. Naturally no Kangaroo court would be complete without the Captain's steadfast companion for a quarter-century, **Hugh** ("Lumpy") **Brannum,** better known as **Mr. Green Jeans.** Like Keeshan or, for that matter, George Burns, Brannum has no intention of hanging up his overalls. "It's been a banner year," he crowed. "Not only did we tape our 7,000th show and complete our 25th season, but I signed another five-year contract in March, just two months after I turned 70."

■

"Sirica's a feisty little guy, a former boxer," says Actor **Martin Balsam,** 60. "If you wanted to cast a judge, you would never cast him." But you might very well cast Balsam, who will portray the Watergate justice in a TV-movie based on **John Sirica's** 1979 memoir *To Set the Record Straight.* After judiciously reviewing Balsam's credentials—as a juror in *12 Angry Men* (1957) and a Washington *Post* editor in *All the President's Men* (1976)—and meeting in his chambers with the actor, Maximum John, 76, ruled him "a very good selection, in my opinion." The film, says Sirica, will reveal "why I made the decisions I did, my instincts, the sleepless nights." But he is quick to set the record straight about those sleepless nights. Unlike earlier Watergate DocuDramas, he says, "there won't be a whole lot of that sexy business. I'm too old for that."

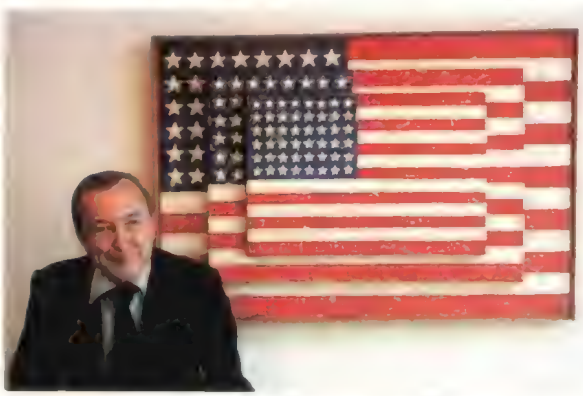
■

New York's wildlife enthusiasts were delighted to spot a rare specimen of *Regia britannicus* in their city last week. Britain's **Prince Philip,** 59, conservationist husband of **Queen Elizabeth,** nested in Manhattan just long enough to preside at a $400-a-person dinner benefiting the New York Zoological Society, lecture on wildlife preservation to 2,700 invited guests at Lincoln Center and adroitly dodge questions. At a press conference where he was descended upon by local newshawks (clearly an unendangered species), he stuck to the matter at hand. Asked for his view of the Iran-Iraq war, his Royal Highness replied: "Bad news for the animals."

Martin Balsam judiciously poses with Role Model John Sirica (right)

"The sound of a million dollars, it's like music," says Artist **Jasper Johns.** "Nothing sounds as clear as the figure given for this one." This one was Johns' 1958 painting *Three Flags,* purchased last week by New York's Whitney Museum for that round, melodious million. Never has a cash register rung quite so loud for a work by a living artist, not even for Johns, whose 1964 oil, *According to What* held the previous sale price record, a mere $600,000. Johns originally sold the encaustic-on-canvas *Flags* 21 years ago for $900 through a Manhattan gallery. And though he stands to gain not a cent from its resale, he confesses: "I'm not unaffected. I still think of it as mine." For Whitney Director **Tom Armstrong,** that in no way eases the burdens of proprietorship. Said Armstrong, gazing at his acquisition: "I am very nervous in the presence of this object."

—By Claudia Wallis



Jasper Johns with his record-breaking opus at the Whitney

On the Record

Ted Kennedy, Massachusetts Senator, on the Pentagon's new Stealth aircraft, which defies radar detection: "That was the airplane Jimmy Carter gave to me during the first four months of the campaign."

Gloria Swanson, actress, on the merits of autobiography (hers appears next month): "If you don't write your own book, someone who has never been within a hundred miles of you will do it from old newspaper clips."

Remnants of the invaders: a twisted gold neck-ring from Denmark and a 10th century horse collar with gold ornament

Art

The Small Change of Archaeology

In New York, a much heralded show of Viking artifacts

A "ruthless, wrathful, foreign, purely pagan people": so one medieval Irish text described the Vikings. "They are the dirtiest of God's creatures," sniffed Arab Historian Ibn Fadlan, who had seen and smelled a Viking encampment on the banks of the Volga in the 10th century, "and they do not wash themselves after sex." Thus, as Hilaire Belloc sardonically put it in our own century

Behold, my child, the Nordic Man
And be as like him as you can
His legs are long; his mind is slow;
His hair is lank and made of tow

It is certainly true, as the British Museum's director David Wilson remarks in the catalogue preface to "The Vikings," the big show of Norse artifacts and relics that opened last week at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, that the Vikings have had a bad press. That is what happens when you fall foul of Irish reviewers. No people in Western history, perhaps, had more of a reputation for mayhem and brutishness. Their longships ranged from Greenland to Byzantium and Kiev; they reached America 500 years before Columbus; and virtually everywhere they went, their greed and implacable cruelty stank in the nostrils of their victims

The Metropolitan's show, imported after a successful five-month run at the British Museum, offers us a different sort of Viking: the monster *chez lui*, a more conscientious and stolid fellow, the rude ancestor of the modern Volvo executive He does not even have a horned helmet —a Wagnerian embellishment on the plain iron cap he actually wore in battle He plows his acres; he makes crude wooden boxes with crude iron tools. His wife has a comb and looks like Bjorn Borg in drag. Living in a permanent crisis economy, he believes in bullion as a hedge against disaster. He cannot keep his gold in a sock (archaeology has not so far produced a Viking sock, though the Met has some withered shoes in a glass case), but he melts plundered silver down into ingots. Sometimes he buries them, wanders off across the Skagerrak to kill a few more Irish scribes, and forgets where the cache was. He is, in short, not unlike you or me

The Vikings had a more developed culture than people think; not literate exactly, but capable of housing and decorating itself, and equipped with a rudimentary sense of law. Their supreme artifacts were their longships, beak-prowed and clinker-built, with a shallow draft so that they could be rowed straight up on the beach for surprise attack, like landing craft, and usually powered by 30 or more oars. Alas, the Viking ships found in such Norwegian burial sites as Gokstad and Oseberg, and now preserved in Oslo, are too fragile to cross the Atlantic. But as a sort of extension of the Metropolitan exhibition, a two-thirds scale model of one is being displayed at the South Street Seaport Museum in Lower Manhattan

A silver-encrusted sword hilt

The hair was lank, the beads are chipped.

As spectacle, most of the Met's show is disappointing; and because the real subject of exhibitions like this is culture as spectacle, "The Vikings" does not offer much. The argument it mounts really belongs to a book, not an exhibition, and it is far better done by the catalogue, which is a model of serious, popular historical reconstruction. In the museum, the objects, drawn from national collections in Scandinavia, England, Ireland and elsewhere, seem overcome by the pomp of their display: case after beautifully lighted case, spread wide out to allow for crowd passage, each enshrining its sparse array of broken pins and chipped beads. In this way the socially interesting small change of archaeology is implicitly promoted to "treasure": The Search for/ The Tomb of/ The Magic of/ The Curse of Someone or Other

There are some interesting precious objects: a massive torque of twisted gold, brooches and harness mounts ornamented with serpentine, imbricated motifs; some large and striking ornamental pins. Clearly, the best Viking goldsmiths could stand comparison with their Byzantine or Inca counterparts. But such works are in the minority, and despite the extreme rarity of Viking artifacts and their obvious significance as historical fragments, one is left wondering why the Met devoted so much space to this show.

—By Robert Hughes

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Beneath the Thorny Carapace

THE LETTERS OF EVELYN WAUGH *Edited by Mark Amory*
Ticknor & Fields; 664 pages; $25

Evelyn Waugh: writing "conversation as I love it, with anecdote occurring spontaneously . . ."

Before he began the task of sifting through some 4,500 surviving letters by Evelyn Waugh, Editor Mark Amory wondered if the author's handwriting was difficult to read. A friend reassured him: "No, no, you see he wrote his letters in the morning, when he was sober. He wrote his diary at night when he was drunk." On the evidence of the 840 letters collected here, Waugh sometimes tippled while he corresponded, but the contrast between this book and his *Diaries* (published in 1977) is as vivid as that between a buoyant raconteur and a mean lush. Here is Waugh effusively thanking Harold Acton for sending his latest book: "A work of that kind, so rich and learned, must be studied with proper reverence." He told his diary something different: Acton's book was "unreadable."

Triumphantly boorish in public; morose, malicious and often anguished in private: the Waugh of legend has only grown since his death in 1966, and the result is not a pretty picture. His letters show him in a much more flattering light. When he was not beset by strangers or pursued by his own demons, he genuinely cared about pleasing his friends and loved ones. He entertained and consoled, advised and gently scolded. His frequent travels took him great distances from those whose company he enjoyed, so he used the mails to talk to them, to mimic "conversation as I love it, with anecdote occurring spontaneously and aptly, jokes growing and taking shape, fantasy." This collective performance was one of his most dazzling.

As a student at Oxford, Waugh referred confidently to "the biography" that would some day be written about him. He was, of course, correct, and the facts of his life are now well known. The events of three years determined almost all that was to follow. The publication of *Decline and Fall* in 1928 made him famous, the darling of "the bright young people" who danced and staggered through postwar England. The next year, his wife Evelyn ("She-Evelyn" to friends) left him for another man. Waugh wrote his parents: "I am afraid that this will be a blow to you but I assure you not nearly as severe a blow as it is to me." The thorny carapace that later became so famous grew out of his suffering: "I was getting into a sort of Charlie Chaplinish Pagliacci attitude to myself as the man with a tragedy in his life and a tender smile for children. So all that must stop." And in 1930 he converted to Roman Catholicism.

His faith never wavered, but neither did it save him from dipsomaniacal binges. He asked Author Nancy Mitford, a favorite correspondent: "Did I ever come to visit you again after my first sober afternoon. If so, I presume I owe you flowers." As he ruefully described the times he was "d.d." (disgustingly drunk) in his letters, Waugh made himself one of his better comic characters: "I got to my train d.d and it was the Cheltenham Flier full of respectable stockbrokers . . . and I walked down the train picking up all the mens hats and looking inside and saying: 'People who go to such bad hatters shouldn't travel first class.' So I am ashamed to meet any neighbors now." Waugh's journeys from offensiveness to remorse were often spectacular, and no one observed them more critically than he.

Waugh remarried in 1937. To his brother Alec he coolly described his bride-to-be as "thin and silent, long nose, no literary ambitions, temperate but not very industrious." His letters to her, though, radiate warmth; he called her "my poppet" and "Whiskers" and confessed that their long separations during his service in World War II sometimes left him "near to tears." Similarly, he often abused his growing brood of six children to his friends. To Nancy Mitford: "All my children are here for the holidays—merry, affectionate, madly boring—except Harriet who has such an aversion to me that she screams when she catches sight of me a hundred yards away." But his letters to the youngsters tell the story of a doting papa. He comforted them when they grew unhappy at school, made up outrageous

Excerpt

"I went to London for a night to see a civil young man who says he is the editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*. He signed his letters 'Peregrine Worsthorne.' I said 'an unusual name' . . . Well, this man of mystery proposed to send me abroad for a treat. We drank heavy and I behaved rather like Randolph [Churchill] in his braver moments, calling for more and better wine, until I said: 'I presume Michael Berry is paying for this?' 'No, indeed, I am, out of my wages.' So then I felt I had behaved badly and could only atone by giving a lot of wine to the mystery man, so I took him up the street to my club and we drank heavy and I woke next day with the vague but persistent impression that I have promised to go to the war in Algiers for him. Not at all what I wanted."

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stories to amuse them. He described his eldest daughter's coming-out to his third child Margaret: "There were 250 pimply youths and 250 hideous girls packed so tight together they could not move hand or foot . . . and that is the last anyone has seen of Teresa. I suppose she was crushed to death and the corpse too flat to be recognized. About 100 dead girls were carried out and buried in a common pit."

Waugh partially was the curmudgeonly Blimp he invented for himself. He proudly described himself as a "snob . . . a bigot and a philistine" to various friends, but then seemed hurt when outsiders found him as obnoxious as he tried to be. He was also, as his letters reveal, generous in praising contemporaries like Graham Greene, George Orwell and Anthony Powell and encouraging to such newcomers as Louis Auchincloss and Thomas Merton. He was not entirely the Tory skinflint that his denunciations of the welfare state suggested; he assigned a number of foreign royalties to Catholic charities. His prejudices were surprisingly flexible. He enjoyed mocking the U.S. and calling its citizens "louts"; yet he told his agent to withhold publishing rights from Communist countries because they "might use *Loved One* as anti-American propaganda." Editor Amory does a superb job of reconstructing this complex, hidden man. The job was not easy; one nickname-filled early letter requires 31 footnotes. All the work was worth it. One of this century's greatest English prose stylists is back again, provoking outrage, thought and laughter. —*By Paul Gray*

Sci-Fi Sprints

THE STORIES OF RAY BRADBURY
by Ray Bradbury
Knopf; 928 pages; $17.95

A father becomes his son, then takes the youngster's place in his playground—a lower circle in Dante's hell. A fully automated house continues to function with mechanical mindlessness long after its inhabitants have been incinerated in a nuclear holocaust. An electrical robot grandmother does more than bake her grandchildren's favorite pies; she is a model of uncritical love. When the children grow old, she is on stand-by, ready for their second childhoods. An uninhabited planet resists earthlings who have come to settle it.

Only one mind could have produced these plots: that of Ray Bradbury, author of the classic *Martian Chronicles* and the gloomily prophetic *Fahrenheit 451*. Bradbury has long been considered one of the great long-distance runners of fantasy and science fiction. But he is also a sprinter; his poignant and ironic short stories have been anthologized for more than 30 years. Bradbury's latest book is a highly personal selection of those works: Martian adventures, nostalgic reminiscences about small-town Midwestern life in the '20s and '30s, and several evocative anecdotes

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about Ireland. But its best pieces remain the tales that made the author's reputation: chillingly understated stories about a familiar world where it is always a few minutes before midnight on Halloween, and where the unspeakable and unthinkable become commonplace.

Few writers can evoke this October country more trenchantly than Bradbury. No reader of *The Fog Horn* can pass a lighthouse without visualizing the sea creature listening in the darkness. Parents who understand *The Small Assassin*, the anecdote of a homicidal infant, will always wonder about the Freudian undercurrents coursing through the minds of their children.

Indeed, hypochondriacs might do well

Ray Bradbury
A life full of myths and wonder.

to skip *Fever Dream* altogether. It describes the feelings of a youth who is certain that his body is being taken over by bacteria: "Now he had no body. It was all gone. It was under him, but it was filled with a vast pulse of some burning, lethargic drug. It was as if a guillotine had neatly lopped off his head, and his head lay shining on a midnight pillow while the body, below, still alive, belonged to someone else."

Though he manifestly prefers to write such hair-raisers, Bradbury is as entertaining on the sunny side of the street as he is in the land of perpetual twilight. One of his stories shares the delight of a poor Chicano who finds his life magically transformed by the purchase of a white suit. In the hilarious *Anthem Sprinters*, some rollicking Irishmen make a contest out of their penchant for bolting out of a movie theater before the playing of the national anthem at the end of a show. *The Picasso Summer* acutely satirizes the dilemma of an art lover. Strolling one evening, he stumbles upon the Master doodling a huge mural in the French sand. Caught without a camera, the tourist moves slowly up and down the beach, trying to make a mental photograph of the masterpiece before a rising tide comes to wash it away.

Bradbury's spare, economical style reveals the consummate storyteller. But it conceals the moralist. Other science-fiction writers may celebrate technology; Bradbury warns readers to be wary of it. Other fantasists may admire power or cunning; Bradbury saves his praise for the fragile fabric of civilization, and extols the basic virtues of common sense and human affection.

Newcomers to Bradbury risk sensory overload by galloping through the book in the manner of the author's anthem sprinters. It is best to amble through this delightful collection. The volume, after all, contains 100 stories. A careful reader, consuming one a night, can make it last into the New Year. —*By Peter Stoler*

■ ■ ■

He refuses to fly. He does not drive. He was once stopped by the police in Los Angeles for the highly suspect act of walking at night through his residential neighborhood. He was also detained by the Irish *Garda Síochána* (Civil Guard) for being "drunk, and in charge of a bicycle." Ray Bradbury would seem, from his prodigious output, to be the most sedentary of men. He is, in fact, one of the most peripatetic. By bus, boat, train and car, he has thoroughly explored the U.S., Mexico, Ireland and Europe. By means of his imagination, he has penetrated the farthest reaches of the solar system and the deepest, darkest abysses of the human mind. "I've gone a long way," says Bradbury. "I've come even farther."

That he has. When he first started writing for a living back in the '40s, Bradbury, 60, considered himself fortunate when he was able to average $30 a week and pay the rent on his apartment in a less-than-stylish section of Venice, Calif. Now he finds himself something of a celebrity, sought by editors, television and movie producers, and talk-show hosts. "I've been lucky," Bradbury admits. "We hanker after instant fame, but that's wrong; if fame comes too quickly, it spoils us. For me, recognition came at just the right pace."

Bradbury began writing science fiction as a teen-ager in Waukegan, Ill. But it was not until François Truffaut filmed *Fahrenheit 451* in 1966 that he was widely saluted as one of the masters of the genre. "My life has been full of myths," says Bradbury, whose fiction often suggests an amalgam of the classic fables, Frank Baum's Oz books and Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*.

The myths continue to animate his fiction. Bradbury's work may vary with his mood, ranging from bleak to bright. But his stories rarely fail to reinforce a classic piece of American mythology: that a boy from a small Midwestern town can make it in America—without becoming an adult.

After all, the author never quite grew up. His prose style may have matured over four decades. But Bradbury, the benign father of four daughters who peers at the world through thick if not always rose-colored glasses, remains the quintessential boy, bemused by his ability to whip out a story (he does most first drafts in a matter of hours) and thrilled by his success. Most people lose the capacity for wonder as they grow older. Not Bradbury. "I'm one of the few people I know who still say 'Gee, whiz,' " he admits. "I say it at least five times a day." ■

Editors' Choice

FICTION: Consenting Adults or The Duchess Will Be Furious, *Peter De Vries* • Italian Folktales, *selected and retold by Italo Calvino* • Joshua Then and Now, *Mordecai Richler* • Loon Lake, *E.L. Doctorow* • Rough Strife, *Lynne Sharon Schwartz* • The Middle Ground, *Margaret Drabble* The Second Coming, *Walker Percy*

NONFICTION: Abroad, *Paul Fussell* American Dreams Lost and Found *Studs Terkel* • China Men, *Maxine Hong Kingston* • Island Sojourn, *Elizabeth Arthur* • Lyndon, *Merle Miller* • The Soul of the Wolf, *Michael Fox* • Walter Lippmann and the American Century, *Ronald Steel*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. Firestarter, *King* (1 *last week*)
2. Rage of Angels, *Sheldon* (2)
3. The Fifth Horseman, *Collins & Lapierre* (3)
4. The Key to Rebecca, *Follett*
5. The Tenth Commandment, *Sanders* (4)
6. Music for Chameleons, *Capote*
7. The Bourne Identity, *Ludlum* (6)
8. The Ring, *Steel*
9. Fanny, *Jong* (5)
10. Random Winds, *Plain* (7)

NONFICTION

1. Crisis Investing, *Casey* (1)
2. Number 1, *Martin & Golenbock* (3)
3. The Sky's the Limit, *Dyer* (7)
4. Shelley, *Winters* (2)
5. Free to Choose, *Milton & Rose Friedman* (5)
6. Nothing Down, *Allen* (6)
7. Breaking Cover, *Gulley with Reese*
8. Craig Claiborne's Gourmet Diet, *Claiborne with Franey* (8)
9. Goodbye, Darkness, *Manchester*
10. How You Can Become Financially Independent by Investing in Real Estate, *Lowry* (9)

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ABC NEWS CLOSEUP

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Letting Bad Enough Alone

The art of letting well enough alone merely requires foresight, but the art of letting bad enough alone demands clairvoyance. That makes it a rare art indeed, and therefore William Agee may be forgiven for not having mastered it. At least he had not mastered it by the afternoon of Sept. 24. In a fit of candor, he faced 600 employees of the Bendix Corp., of which he is chairman, and tried to put to rest once and for all the rumors that his admittedly "close friendship" with attractive, blond Mary Cunningham, 29, had anything to do with her rise from executive assistant to vice president for planning in the stunningly short span of 15 months. In the process, of course, he resuscitated some remarkably anachronistic ideas about women in business. Having thus cleared the air, Agee then settled back to observe the American business community set aside its minor woes (a plunging stock market, a Middle East war) to concentrate in rapt fascination on the matter of Agee and Cunningham. Does he wonder where it all went wrong?

Probably not any more. After Agee's clarifying exercise, his company issued a statement that a "major disclosure" would be forthcoming the next day, but then "upon further reflection," Agee decided that "we just didn't have any more to say." That was boyish optimism; there have been several additional announcements from the company since, the sum effect of which has been to hoist the lucky couple out of the business world toward the shrines of American folklore. It was also boyish optimism that inspired Agee to make his clarifying gesture in the first place. A realist will always let bad enough alone, but a romantic cannot help himself. And to be fair, how was Agee to know that by making a clean breast of things, which is supposed to be good for the soul as well as part of the American way, he would be snatching disaster from the jaws of suspicion?

Of course, he could have looked more closely into history before he leaped. In fact, Agee's suicidal forthrightness places him squarely in a most distinguished company of reckless clarifiers, all of whom at one crucial, wretched moment of their lives were possessed by the demonic idea that if they would only explain themselves fully in the midst of seeming scandal or time of harassment—let it all hang out, lay their cards on the table, spare no detail, be up front, come clean—and so forth—then the grateful, enlightened public would murmur "I see," and all would be swell.

So George F. Baer achieved American duncehood during the Pennsylvania coal strike of 1902, when a resident of Wilkes-Barre wrote to him, as chief spokesman for the mine owners, to express anxiety at the ravages of the strike. Baer decided to explain himself. In a letter that was later widely circulated, especially among the United Mine Workers, he reassured his correspondent that some people were placed on earth to manage and others to serve, and that was the divine order of things. Said Baer: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country." So that was that.

Then there was William Jennings Bryan who, having seen his fundamentalist creed vindicated during the Scopes trial of 1925, still insisted upon taking the stand in order to make his antievolution position crystal clear, thereby exposing himself to national (and historical) ridicule. And there was Oveta Culp Hobby who, as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1955, explained the shortage of the new Salk polio vaccine: "No one could have foreseen its great acclaim." And there is always Richard Nixon, the apostle of perfect clarity, who at times has seemed hell-bent on clarifying himself out of existence.

The lesson in all such instances, as the wise have always told us, is the abiding value of silence. La Rochefoucauld, for example, got down to his usual brass tacks by calling silence "the best tactic for him who distrusts himself." It is not simply that silence is generally prudent; it also encourages the presumption of virtue, appearing—especially in times of adversity—as a sign of both discretion and suffering. How unlikely (goes the public reasoning) that a guilty party would endure calumnies without a peep.

But the best reasons for keeping one's counsel during a scandal (real or apparent) are purely practical.

1) Nobody ever wants to be reminded that he has engaged in gossip. When the object of that gossip steps forward to remind the rumormonger of such a thing, that person becomes an enemy. As long as rumor remains fuzzy, it can be almost wistful. But when confronted openly, the rumormonger suddenly feels that he must truly believe what he has merely been fantasizing. Zealot is pitted against zealot. Carnage ensues.

2) Every time someone makes a public confession, his audience grows conscious of their own secret sins. The mere presence of the confessor is mortifying, implicitly incriminating. The audience cannot take it. The more direct his approach, the more they want to get rid of him. Carnage ensues.

3) Finally, nobody ever really wants a scandal cleared up. Uncleared-up, a scandal is like radio: it allows the imagination to rove like a child in a flower field, especially when an office romance is involved, and the imagination may cavort among infinite possibilities of after-hour adventures behind the desk—legs sprawled wildly among the Eberhard Fabers; Muzak stuck on *Boléro*. When the candid spoilsport steps forward to tell it like it actually was, the imagination's freedom is curtailed. The audience grows vengeful. Carnage ensues.

This said, there still is something remarkably touching about those who do not let bad enough alone, perhaps because their errors are errors of the heart. Who but a genuine innocent—in outlook, if not in conduct—would be so bold or dumb as to put his life on the line like that? Not a Frenchman, certainly, who would regard a scandal as droll; nor an Englishman, to be sure, who would regard it as an honor. No, only an American would blunder forth as in the Agee case, openly advocating fair play, the merit system, and the rights of privacy within the same declaration. Only an American would be so impatient as to prevent rumors from dying out on their own. It must be said too that only a male chauvinist American could make such a botch of chivalry.

Yet perhaps the most characteristic American element in all this, and the most moving as well, is that astonished moment when the reckless clarifier carefully looks over his audience (or courtroom or stationery or press conference) and envisions being born again. O hopeful pioneer. All he has to do is say a few words and the world will be new. He feels better already.

—By Roger Rosenblatt

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REPUBLIC AIRLINES

The Return of the Prodigals

Hard times are sending grown children home to Mom and Dad

Son: Hey, would you please stop talkin' and listen to me? I wanna move back into my old room. I could save money that way; it'd be real easy . . .

Mom (hesitantly): Well, honey, that would be nice . . .

Dad: Let's have a man-to-man talk. *(Draws son aside.)* Yeah, I know, you're sick of this inflation and that whole swinging singles scene—but no way.

Like all good satire, the skit from Chicago's Second City Theater strikes within a hair of real life: young adults in America are coming back to roost. Among some ethnic groups, the Old World style of several generations living under one roof has long persisted. Until now the middle class has exhorted its young to go west, go to college, go to work —in short, to get out. But those catalysts of unwed cohabitation in the '70s—inflation, recession and rising divorce rates —are now persuading young people to cleave unto their parents.

Says Ellice Schneider, 29, a Chicago teacher who moved home after a divorce: "My salary doesn't keep up with inflation. And I won't move where I have to count cracks in the wall. So I live with my parents, despite the inconvenience."

In urban areas especially, recent college graduates are finding that their entry-level jobs barely cover fast food and shabby shelter. Living at home can save years of scrimping. In the three years since he moved into his parents' Miami house, one 24-year-old rock-music reporter has stashed away $6,000, bought a used car with cash and traveled to England on his $12,800 salary. His room and board: $15 per week. Winston Whitlock, 23, returned to his parents' Atlanta home—and his father's restaurant-supply business—after leaving the Air Force. He earns his keep through household chores.

Many parents welcome the prodigal's return. Often the child who left home a bothersome teen returns a helpful adult who can also provide engaging companionship. Susanna Kaplan, 23, a physical-education major at Boston University, moved back to the Cambridge, Mass., home of her parents, Author Justin Kaplan and Novelist Anne Bernays, after four years of study and work. The family agrees that since Susanna has matured they all get along better than ever. Says Mother Anne: "Susanna has a powerful personality, but this is a very big house."

For some families, no house is big enough for two generations when parents' values clash head-on with those the child has developed out on his own. Says a Long Island, N.Y., mother who refuses rent from her daughter, a 24-year-old sales representative: "I am determined that things in this house should be the way my husband and I want them. At times we feel that Kate uses the house as a hotel."

The children, for their part, emphasize that life at home is not all fast cars and home cooking. Freedom and privacy are sharply curtailed. Guests are scrutinized. The use of the telephone and stereo becomes problematic. Above all, the children chafe at their inability to invite boyfriends or girlfriends to stay the night. Although Kate's mother feels her daughter has forced her standards on the household, Kate disagrees: "I have learned the hard way not to fight with them about my sense of values. I now realize I have to compromise. This is their territory."

Some parents frankly resent being used in place of the old American bootstrap. A businessman from heavily "reroosted" Cambridge says, "These are the children of academics who floated through school, majored in Renaissance literature, and find there aren't any jobs for humanities students. They know a good deal when they see it—full refrigerator, a TV, a bed—and so home they come."

Perhaps the most complicated live-ins arise when a son or daughter returns home after a divorce. Seeking moral as well as financial support, the divorced offspring often assumes a dependent role that psychologists say is bad for all concerned. After her seven-year marriage ended last winter, Wendy Hurd, 26, returned to her parents' Atlanta home. Her father wakes her each morning, just like old times, and has offered to buy her a car. Wendy's mother plans to keep helping her daughter, but adds: "When the kids come and go like this, they have you on an emotional yo-yo."

Most of the children intend to move out again. Marin County Psychiatrist Paul Kingsley advises the sooner, the better. Even loving families, says Kingsley, can breed resentment. He warns parents they may be using children to assuage loneliness or to divert attention from their own problems. But in a nation that often isolates and idolizes youth, the coming-home trend might just prove healthy. Says Mother Anne Bernays of Daughter Susanna: "It's a step forward, because in order to get along in the world, you have to learn to get along with your parents—even if they're difficult."

—By Lorene Cary

From left, Winston Whitlock helps out by cleaning gutters; Susanna Kaplan relaxes with parents; Wendy Hurd sets table

Not just fast cars and home cooking: generations with different values find that living together means conflict and compromise.

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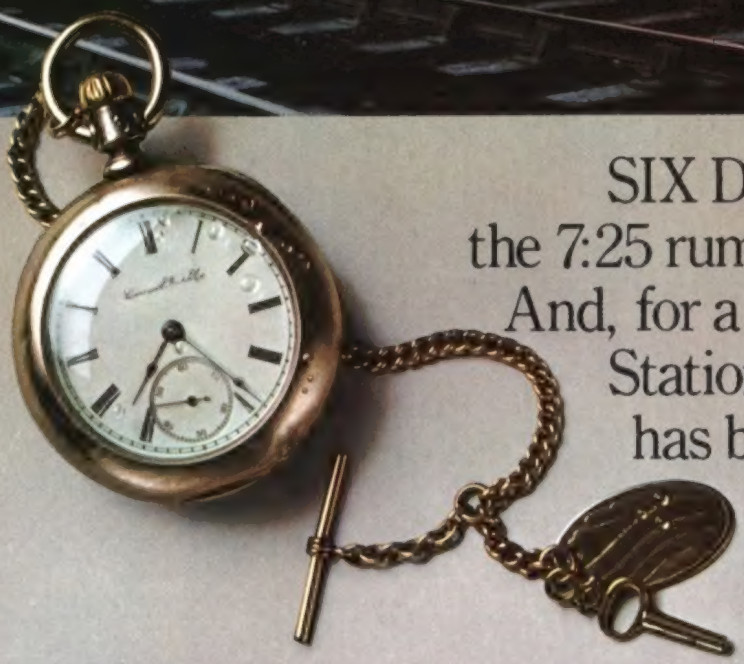

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